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ABSTRACT

Presented here are five detailed case studies of principals (four elementary level and one junior high level) undertaken to verify and modify a theoretical model of how instructional management occurs in schools. The five principals were selected from a larger group of California Bay Area principals identified by central office personnel as effective. Long open-ended interviews were used to discover principals' views of their work, and each principal was observed at work for three full work days over an eight-week period. Researchers also observed classes and talked with teachers and students. The observers particularly looked at seven components of the instructional management model: a principal's personal characteristics, district characteristics, external characteristics, principals' management behavior, school climate, instructional organization, and student outcomes. Data analysis led to modification of the conceptual framework. The observations produced three modified antecedent categories: principal characteristics, community context, and institutional context. Researchers felt the project was most successful in producing a lengthy list of principals' instructional management behavior. (JM)

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Five Principals in Action: Perspectives on Instructional Management

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PREFACE

These vivid portraits of five school principals contribute to our understanding of the nature of leadership. Our report focuses on the day-to-day behavior of men and women who work in a variety of public school settings and who approach their responsibilities for instructional management in distinctly different ways. Their stories illustrate how community, district, and personal factors interact with organizational characteristics of schools to shape their instructional management activities and decisions. As a counterpoint to recent research on "effective schools," these portraits demonstrate that there are common factors in the making of a successful school, but that there is no single mold for the effective principal. Moreover, instructional leadership does not necessarily mean doing something "big and innovative." Rather it involves knowing and being able to manage effectively those everyday processes and functions that affect the quality of classroom instruction.

This study is the beginning of an ambitious program of research and development which is generating concepts and techniques that will help educators consider how various coordination and management practices at each organizational level--classroom, school, and district--can improve teaching and student learning. The findings from these case studies are helping us to build a multilevel model of instructional management and to work collaboratively with school personnel in improvement and applied research efforts. In addition to continued research on the instructional leadership role of school principals, our program is synthesizing recent work on the effects of instructional grouping, examining exemplary programs of instructional mangement, and developing models of the effects of district-level policies and practices on student achievement.

We are indebted to the principals and district staff who participated in this study. Research was supported by contracts from the National Institute of Education, Department of Education (Nos. 400-80-0103 and 400-83-0003). This report does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Education and the National Institute of Education.

Steven T. Bossert
Senior Research Director

CONTENTS

Overview 1

Methods 4

Selection of the Principals 6

Five Vignettes of Principals in Action:

Jeffrey Hudson and McDuffy Elementary School 8
Harold Mann and Field Elementary School 16
John Royce and Valley Stream Elementary School 25
Martha Delling and Boxer Heights Elementary School 34
Gregory Alexander and Lincoln Junior High School 41

Conclusions 49

References 59

FIGURES

Figure 1: A Framework for Examining Instructional Management ..3

Figure 2: Instructional Management Model--Jeffrey Hudson 15

Figure 3: Instructional Management Model--Harold Mar[illegible] 24

Figure 4: Instructional Management Model--John Royce 33

Figure 5: Instructional Management Model--Martha Delling 40

Figure 6: Instructional Management Model--Gregory Alexander ..48

TABLES

Table 1: Comparative Characteristics of the Five Participating Schools 7

OVERVIEW

Recent treatments of effective instructional management have focused on the principal as instructional leader (see, among others, Armor et al., 1976; Brookover and Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981). Unfortunately, the "black box" and correlational approaches of these studies obscure the causes and effects of school structures. Past work has called attention to certain features of the school without showing how they are interrelated. The work has largely ignored the importance of school context. Moreover, the research has led to some thorny contradictions. For example, Edmonds (1979) indicates that "strong administrative leadership" is essential for "good schooling." Yet, Armor et al. (1976) state that teachers must have substantial instructional autonomy and exercise their discretion in the instructional program for a school to be effective. Thus, a dilemma: How can a principal be a strong leader and grant a maximum of autonomy? Principals in successful schools are also reported to hold high expectations for their students (Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979; Weber, 1971). But how do these expectations affect students when it has been shown that even teacher expectations for student success do not significantly enhance a student's performance?

Existing work on "effective" schools has led to a confusion about the school as a social organization and schooling as a social process. The organizational milieu of the school will affect the schooling process only to the extent that it shapes the concrete, day-to-day experiences of teachers and students. Our study begins the exploration of the linkages between organizational variables and those concrete instructional processes. This report discusses the results of five short case studies that provide rich descriptions of principals working in their schools and reflecting on their activities. These descriptions serve to ground the theoretical model described in the following section.

A Theoretical Guide to the Study of Instructional Management

Examination of the literature about effective schools and successful principals reveals that the usefulness of either is limited by noteworthy conceptual and methodological shortcomings (Bossert et al., 1982; Rowan et al., 1982). While the leadership literature calls for principals to "structure" their organizations for effectiveness, little is said about what processes must be structured or what structures need to be imposed on these processes. This limitation calls for a more detailed analysis of classroom, school, and district organization.

An even more fundamental problem exists in the studies of successful schools and principals. This difficulty centers on the identification of effective instructional management practices in terms of the classical model of bureaucratic organization (Cohen, n.d.). Such a model depicts the school as goal oriented and hierarchically organized. In such organizations, central managers monitor subordinates' behavior and deliberately adapt organizational procedures to meet clear performance criteria. When applied to schools, this model is faulty on two grounds. First, it represents an ideal formulation without describing the processes by which formal structures are embodied in day-to-day operations. Second, because instruction is a weak technology in which instructional actions are often loosely coupled to evidence of student learning, this model may overestimate the direct effects of planning, goal consensus, and school-level instructional objectives on the learning experiences of children.

In contrast to these approaches, Figure 1 presents our view of the relationship between leadership and organization. It shows that a principal's instructional management behavior affects two basic features of the school's social organization: climate and instructional organization. These are the contexts in which various social relationships are formed which, in turn, shape teachers' behaviors and students' experiences that produce student learning. At the same time, the principal's own management behavior is shaped by a number of factors external to the school.

While the inclusion of situational elements in this framework helps in synthesizing our current knowledge concerning the instructional management role of the principal, the framework actually raises more questions than it answers. In the first place, current research findings have tapped only a limited number of characteristics for each of the important factors in the figure. In addition, their relevant importance to practitioners must be validated, and grounded definitions for each concept must be derived. Finally, in order to begin to correct the problems with existing research on successful principals, we must consider how different forms of organizations and varied management practices actually affect the concrete experiences of teachers and students. Specifically, the interrelationships among the factors outlined in Figure 1 must be examined.

The figure and its limitations guided the first phase of empirical work undertaken by the Instructional Management Program's staff. During the winter and spring of 1982, principals were interviewed and observed. The remainder of this report describes the procedures and findings of that work.

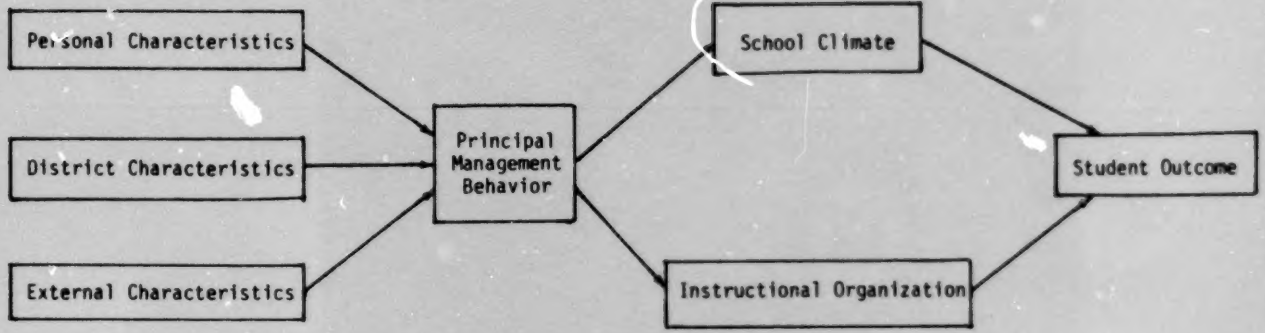

Figure 1: A Framework for Examining Instructional Management
[From Bossert et al., 1982.]

METHODS

Field Procedures

Five case studies were conducted following the traditions of participant observation (Smith, L.M., 1979; Smith & Dwyer, 1979) and Interactive Research and Development in Teaching (Tikunoff & Ward, 1980). Long, open-ended interviews were used to establish the principals' individual views of their work and work places. Their prior professional and personal experiences were explored in relation to their current positions and leadership styles. They were asked to explain district and community constraints under which they operated.

These five principals were "shadowed," followed and observed in an unobtrusive manner, and copious descriptive field notes were kept of their activities. Each principal was shadowed during three full work days over an eight-week period. The shadow days sometimes involved 10-12 hours of observation. On the day following each shadow, researchers returned and interviewed the principals about the previous day. Principals were asked to clarify actions when the intent was not clear. They were encouraged to reflect on their decisions and activities to place them in an overall design, scheme, or building plan.

In addition to the interviews and shadow observations, researchers spent 20-30 hours in each school observing classes, recesses and lunch periods, and talking informally with teachers and students about their work and the school. Critical documents--school plans, test score reports, descriptions of special programs, and evaluation forms--were also collected and entered into the descriptive and narrative record that accrued for each principal and school.

Analysis

Data were collated into chronological, narrative records that included transcribed interviews, observation field notes, documents, and interpretive asides recorded by the field researchers in each setting. Reading the integrated record, the analyst is aware of multiple perspectives of single situations and, at the same time, can take advantage of the "triangulated" (Denzin, 1970: 301) and "multi-method" (Smith, 1979: 344-347) quality of the data to judge its "adequate objectivity" (Bruyn, 1966: 219-233).

Analysis proceeded with a variation of the "comparative method" framework of Glaser and Strauss (1967: 21-22) in which analysts generated definitions and categories from the records, searched for patterns, repetitions, and contradictions in each setting, and also

compared the stories across settings. Next, narrative case studies were prepared and summarized in models that illustrated the essential qualities of the organizations' contexts, the activities which best typified the principals' management behaviors, and the expected outcomes of those actions as projected by the principals.

The resultant models were discussed with the principals in order to assess their accuracy. Interactively, they were modified, extended, or verified. Finally, each model was further abstracted to mask the identity of each principal as well as to permit easier comparison of differences and similarities between participating principals.

SELECTION OF THE PRINCIPALS[2]

The five principals who participated in the eight-week studies were selected from a larger group of principals identified by superintendents and other central office personnel from Bay Area districts as "effective" or "successful" principals. Each of these principals was contacted and 32 agreed to be interviewed extensively at their schools.

Selection of the five principals for the short case studies was largely based on the results of the the 32 initial interviews. Principals who were most articulate about their jobs and seemed to be most interested in the study itself were singled out and queried about their interest in continued participation in the proposed research. Only principals who expressed such interest and were willing to participate were considered further.

In addition, seven-year profiles consisting of each school's achievement scores (reported by the California Assessment Program) and indicators of the SES of the school's catchment area were prepared. These data were considered in an attempt to identify principals who seemed to lead effective instructional organizations. No firm conclusions about the effectiveness of the organizations could be made on this basis, but it did serve to screen out clearly ineffective schools. (See Rowan & Denk, 1982.)

In the final selection, care was taken to vary the participants by their race, sex, and experience. Further effort was made to vary the nature of the organizations' compositions, sizes, and district contexts. Table 1 provides a summary display of many of the characteristics of each school. Richer descriptions of the settings and the five principals' approaches to instructional management follow.

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[2]For a more thorough discussion of principal selection, see "Sample Selection for Spring '82 Field Study Principals," July 26, 1982.

School	Principal			Years of Principal Experience	Number of Teachers	Teacher Experience	Number of Students	Median Student SES**	Student Body Racial Composition	Most Recent CAP Scores*		
	Sex	Race	Age							Reading	Math	Written Expression
McDuffy Elementary	M	W	59	22	21	95% >10 yrs 3% < 6 yrs	506	Low	18% Black 34% Spanish surname 10% Asian 33% White 5% American Indian	66.7	60.5	63.4
Field Elementary	M	B	45	4	24	20% < 6 yrs 20% 7-10 yrs 60% > 10 yrs	544	Low	98% Black 1.5% Spanish surname	51.6	49.1	52.0
Valley Stream Elementary	M	W	44	3	20	99% >10 yrs	506	Middle to High	69% Black 6% Spanish surname 8% Asian 17% White	66.4	66.5	60.6
Boxer Heights Elementary	F	B	36	5	16	3% <6 yrs 35% 7-10 yrs 62% >10 yrs	415	Middle	11% Black 22% Spanish surname 7% Asian 55% White	69.4	58.6	71.2
Lincoln Jr. High	M	B	35	1	36	5% 7-10 yrs 95% >10 yrs	645	Mixed Low to High	7% Black 17% Spanish surname 10% Asian 66% White	NA	NA	NA

* Average percent correct on California Assessment Program examination (see Rowan & Denk, 1982)

** Median SES approximated from CAP data

Table 1: Comparative Characteristics of the Five Participating Schools

JEFFREY HUDSON AND McDUFFY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL[3]

An Introduction to the Setting

McDuffy Elementary School, a single-story complex of interlocking rectangles, is 25 years old. Its yellow, cinder block face rises from a narrow strip of grass and shrubbery that lies behind a car filled, asphalt parking lot. Each of the school's 18 classrooms accommodates approximately 30 students and is small and cramped. The polished, litter-free floors of these rooms and their connecting hallways reflect the pride of a determined staff who work against difficult odds.

The verdant grass of McDuffy's playfields and lawns, maintained at the expense of an automatic watering system, is perhaps the most obvious vestige of a prouder Meadowlands, the school's suburban community which once enjoyed a healthier economy. Today, the community suffers the malaise of unemployment brought about by the closing of its industries.

The parents of McDuffy's students, 30% semiskilled and 68% unskilled workers, are particularly hard hit. Their search for work creates a transient student population at McDuffy. Forty percent of the students may transfer out of the school in a single year; many of them leave and re-enroll several times a year. Such mobility divides the school's population, for within the catchment area a core of third-generation McDuffy parents clings to their homes and the community. They pursue solutions to neighborhood problems and volunteer at the school and other civic organizations.

Many of the youngsters who daily step through the school's doors speak one of 16 languages other than English. The racial composition of this multiethnic group is estimated to be 18% Black, 34% Spanish surname, 10% Asian, 33% White, and 5% American Indian. The children are mostly bright-eyed, eager, outwardly happy, talkative and bouncy. A little scrutiny, however, reveals the faces and behaviors of abandoned and abused children. These realities are underscored in stories related by the staff and in their constant vigil over the children's emotional and physical well-being. The principal characterized his students as street children: "Here you'll find what I call street children. They [speak] street language and they're street wise." Annually, 70% of McDuffy's students

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[3]This summary of the McDuffy Elementary School case study was prepared from the work of David Dwyer, Associate Research Scientist with the Instructional Management Program.

score below the 50th percentile on a nationally normed achievement test.

The school is subject to disparaging comments from elsewhere in the district, but within the school, students, parents and staff are proud and energetic. The neighborhood's deteriorating economic circumstances and the district's dwindling resources, which force staff cuts, increase class size, reduce special services, and delay building maintenance, are treated as new hurdles, not insurmountable barriers.

Insiders like to tout the school's improved order, positive staff morale, and the free interaction of genders and races in student work and play groups as evidence that all is well at McDuffy and getting better. They point out that despite transiency and hardship among students, test scores for reading, written language, and math at the 6th grade level have risen over the past five years.

The Principal

> I like coming to work in the morning. I enjoy the kids. . . . I like talking to the students and standing at the door and saying, "Good morning so and so." I know most of the children by name.

Jeffrey Hudson's crinkled eyes and generous smile convince one that this veteran of the public school principalship means what he says. White, male, 59 years old with eight children of his own, he has gently led the McDuffy faculty and students for seven years. Twenty-four of his professional years have been spent in Meadowlands.

Hudson is one of the district's "good ol' boys," and he loves to reminisce about hilarious anecdotes with cronies and trusted members of his staff. A large number of that cadre have announced their intention to accept early retirement or are seriously considering the matter. Jeffrey, too, ponders the lure of more time for fishing, golf, and travel. Wrapped in his yellowed fisherman's knit cardigan, he frequently bemuses the point and stresses the importance of leaving any situation before burning out.

Jeffrey Hudson deflects much of the attention this study places on him, promoting at every opportunity his vice-principal and other staff. He attributes the success of the McDuffy program to these people and claims little credit for himself. Familiarity with his routines and tireless pace, however, leaves a different impression and reveals the the nature of instructional management at the McDuffy Elementary School.

Instructional Management at McDuffy Elementary School

The management of instruction at McDuffy results from the cooperation of several key staff persons: the principal, vice-principal, halftime counselor, and special education teacher. Hudson occupies a central position in the group, deciding its agenda, focusing its efforts, approving decisions, and connecting members of the group by initiating and monitoring communications among them. Further, he invites faculty, students, parents, and community members into the process as they are needed or affected by decisions.

Principal Characteristics. Hudson attributes much of his behavior as principal to his experience in education, his training, and his personal beliefs. His experience includes six years as an elementary school teacher, two years as a vice-principal, and 22 years in the office of principal. His study of reading instruction led to a master's degree and provides the basis for much of his interaction with teachers about instructional matters. His strong democratic beliefs undergird his view of the mission of schools:

> We should try to educate all children and educate them the best way we can so that they can achieve the best they can. A child should be educated to become a self-reliant, independent, and worthwhile citizen in our country.

He labels himself a "child centered" and "humanistic" educator, attributes that are visible in his interactions with students, and that carry into his work with staff.

Influences from the Community Context. The nature of the McDuffy neighborhood prescribes much of Hudson's work. He declared that visits by police to his school "are so common that they might as well open a substation at McDuffy." He estimates that 60% of his time is spent on problems of child abuse, drug abuse, abandonment, and runaways. Community violence and family turmoil impinge upon his school. An important aspect of greeting children in the morning, he believes, is detecting unrest and defusing potential problems before they erupt.

Influences from the Institutional Context. The institutional context of the school--district, state, and federal regulations--also limits Hudson's choices. The instructional leadership role he prefers, for example, was altered by a shift in district policy:

> Meadowlands was at one time a highly decentralized district. The curriculum at any school would pretty well depend on the judgement of the principal and staff. In the last four years we have moved to a very centralized district where the number of central office staff has increased immeasurably, and they have taken on the role of selection of objectives, materials, and textbooks.

> . . . I'm not really in disagreement with any of those policies, but the job becomes more difficult. . . . You become more of a curriculum manager than a curriculum leader.

Hudson's reservation about centralization is its inherent limited responsiveness to schools' needs and differences.

In addition to district regulations, state and federal requirements also frustrate Hudson. In one instance, conditions for bilingual funding were so restrictive that compliance forced a reassignment of staff members, disrupting a successful bilingual program.

The School Plan. Establishing an effective program, Hudson insists, hinges on a principal's ability to institute a long-term plan. This plan must be based on an accurate assessment of the strengths and needs of a building, staff, and students. In addition, the plan must allow for the constraints posed by a school's context. In Hudson's words, any barrier to this plan should be viewed as a "big bull in a pasture. You find you can't go through, so you have to figure out a way around." According to Hudson, the success of such ventures depends greatly on the principal's experience, training, and commitment to beliefs.

At McDuffy, the "Five-Year Plan" includes strategies for raising low achievement scores, reducing fighting among students, increasing cooperation among the staff, enhancing community pride in the school, and improving the building plant.

Hudson's Instructional Management Modes and Activities. In implementing his plan, Hudson's preferred mode is facilitative and catalytic. He orchestrates rather than directs his faculty by selecting staff carefully, making suggestions instead of demands, arranging interactions between staff members, providing resources and encouragement for activities he supports, and gathering information about students, teachers, families, and community through well developed networks. These preferences, however, do not preclude autocratic behavior when plans or activities fail to progress.

The activities in which he engages are oriented toward people and situations, evidenced by the extensive time he spends talking with individuals and moving through the halls, classrooms, and playgrounds. Very little time is spent alone in his office and even less time is spent on paper-and-pencil planning. Reports and accounting are accomplished in short periods between other activities. He rarely carries work home. He is a classic "muddle through" decision maker, constantly assessing his organization, gauging its progress toward long-term goals, modifying the environment to stay his preferred course (Lindblom, 1972).

Expected Climate Outcomes. By design, Hudson expects his activities to improve school climate, a concept that seems to include a host of factors external to children that enhance their readiness for learning. At McDuffy, he recounts improving the climate through

a variety of specific activities: painting walls; carpeting floors; feeding hungry students; personally reading to students in lower grades; making frequent visits to upper grade classrooms; pitching balls to youngsters at recess; replacing harsh, corporal discipline procedures with patient counseling; talking with individual students about their work and progress; and serving as the school's ambassador at community meetings. In his mind, these efforts signal students that their school is interested in them and prepared to help them.

Influence on the Instructional Organization. The form and content of the instructional organization is his next point of attack. Although Hudson insists that shaping a positive learning climate comes first, improving the instructional organization must begin soon after. Such improvements create a classroom reality that is compatible with the expectations created by the new climate.

For Hudson, the key to the instructional organization of any school is the faculty. Ninety-five percent of his staff are at least ten-year veterans of the classroom. Again and again, he emphasizes the importance of his role in the selection of staff members. He seeks to hire child-centered teachers and works diligently to remove individuals who are careless about the needs of their students. This aspect of his job is of sufficient importance to him that he was able to articulate three distinct strategies he uses to avoid employing undesirable teachers: a) maintain an informal agreement with other principals to share the burden of poor teachers; b) describe openings in an odious manner to discourage unwanted applicants; and c) as a last resort, complain to key community members about undesirable teacher assignments. These ploys enable Hudson to maintain some control despite district incursions in this area. Much of Hudson's time and conversation during the period of this study was given to decisions regarding hiring and assignment of staff for the coming year.

In addition to staffing, Hudson is concerned with the kindergarten program in his school. Frustrated with the current rage of "academic kindergartens," he promotes a program that focuses on language development through lessons that encourage movement and conversation and that allow for students' individual differences. This promotion occurs subtly through suggestions, positive reinforcement, and providing teachers with opportunities to observe in selected classrooms. If these influence techniques fail, the unresponsive faculty member may be moved to another grade level within the school.

Reading commands Hudson's attention in the primary grades at McDuffy. He is concerned that teachers present lessons in forms useful to students who are aural, visual, or kinesthetic learners. He has provided staff training enabling teachers to identify the type of learning most accessible to each student. He praises teachers in formal and informal conferences when he observes them responding to individual needs.

McDuffy's 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th grade classrooms represent an array of instructional approaches, and Hudson seems more tolerant of

variation at these levels. In these intermediate grades, he is most concerned about the social development of students and the positive shaping of their attitudes toward schooling in general. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are fundamental to each of these programs. History, geography, and science are introduced with varying emphasis, seemingly tied to the classroom teacher's expertise. At the 7th grade level, students shuffle among four classrooms in a quasi-departmentalized structure as preparation for their transition to junior high school.

Across all grades, McDuffy offers eight separate pullout and special education programs designed to assist students with learning difficulties. Because 75% of the student body is involved in these programs, coordinating and monitoring them is another major aspect of Hudson's instructional management. Again, staffing is viewed as critical to the success of these programs. Hudson further convenes meetings of classroom teachers, special education teachers, the school nurse, and the district psychologist to plan for each student's need. Not given to extensive record keeping, Hudson keeps a folder in his top desk drawer in which summaries of such meetings and decisions are kept. This folder always appears in subsequent meetings as he follows the progress of individual students.

Attention to individual students occurs not only at these meetings, but is exhibited by the principal on a continual basis. As Hudson moves through his building, he routinely and frequently visits classrooms, talking to individual students and teachers, inquiring about problems and progress, and examining students' work. He realizes the distraction this may create, but he forcefully argues that his visits and conversations improve the quality of students' experiences, even though the interruptions may decrease the actual quantity of time students spend on lessons.

Expected Student Outcomes. Hudson's expectations for students are explicitly expressed in his view of the mission of public schools --to achieve at a level consistent with their abilities, and to develop as self-reliant, worthwhile citizens. Implicit in this view is his concern that children learn to express themselves in written and oral forms, and that they learn to read and compute.

He assesses student progress by monitoring individual student achievement scores with particular attention to the rate of student growth from year to year. More important for Hudson, however, are changes in student behavior at the school. Following him about the building and listening to his descriptions of individual children's stories--their entry, transition, and current status at the school--one witnesses his attention to youngsters' performance in classes and their activities about the play yard.

A master of contingencies and flexible planning, Hudson constantly and informally monitors his building, staff, and students. The day-to-day flow of information to him aids his planning for the next day, semester, and year. His work is a continuous stream of acting, assessing, and reacting, all in the interest of enhancing

student experiences. Figure 2 summarizes Hudson's view of instructional management at McDuffy Elementary School.

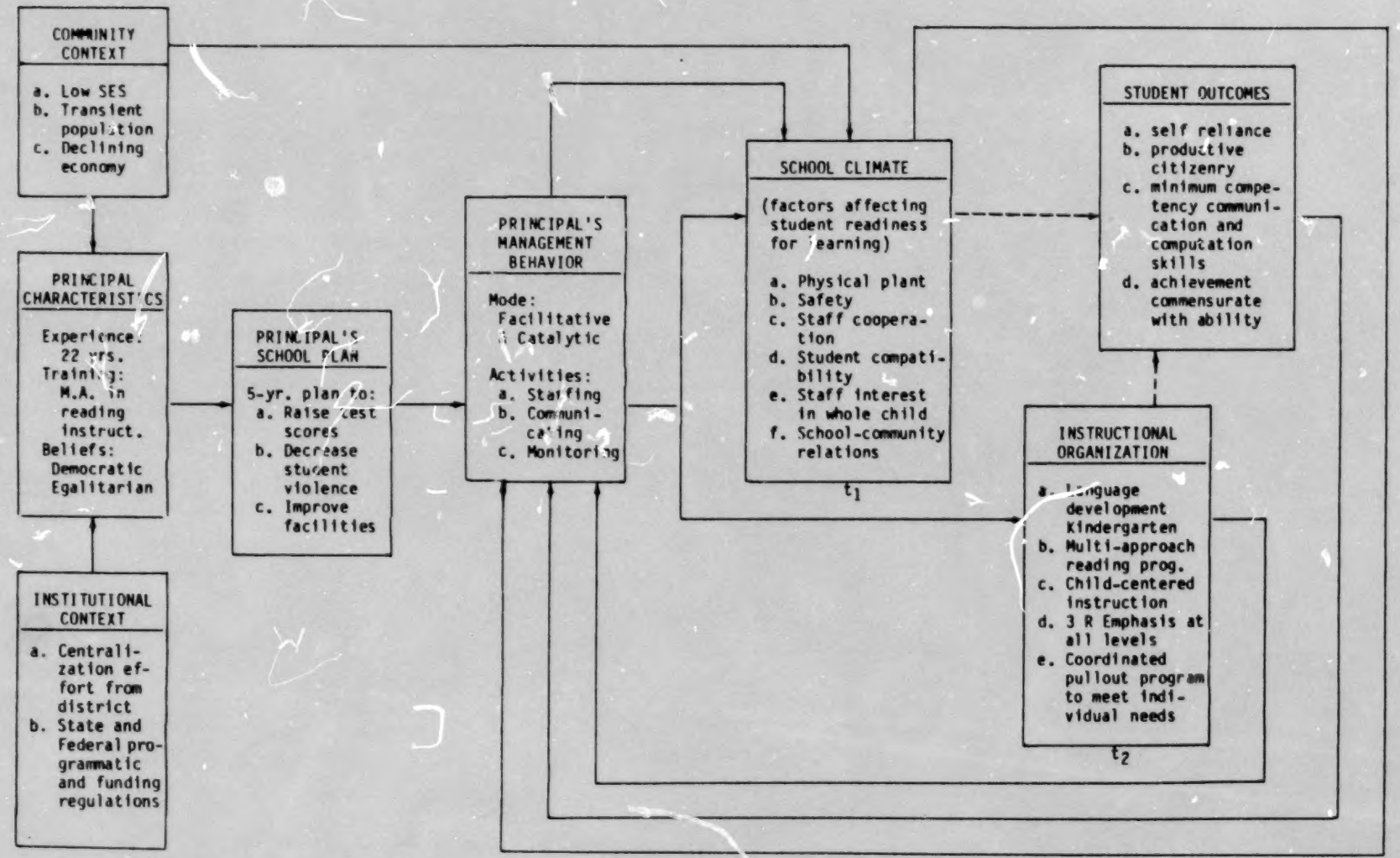

Figure 2: Instructional Management Model - Jeffrey Hudson, McDuffy Elementary School

HAROLD MANN AND FIELD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL[4]

An Introduction to the Setting

Field Elementary School is a single level construction of concrete blocks. Its burnt yellow color and asphalt surroundings contribute to the school's drab appearance. The school's offices, cafeteria, library, and auditorium are joined by a large central corridor that forms a spine from which other halls run to link the support facilities with the school's 24 classrooms.

The passageways' walls are covered with green, ceramic tile, and their floors with dark green linoleum. Their stark appearance is relieved by bright, informative bulletin boards that extol the achievements of famous minority leaders or Field students who have excelled in some aspect of the school's program. The displays are designed to encourage the school's 544 children to achieve and are representative of the principal's expectations for them.

The children who pass through the halls are 98% Black, 1.5% Spanish surname, and .5% White or Asian. They attend school in a neighborhood that is economically depressed. Field ranks among the top 5% of schools in the state in proportion of students from families who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children. According to the principal, the setting has a tough reputation and teachers in other schools in the district avoid assignment to Field. He argues with much of this repute, and long-time staff members remark that the neighborhood is poor but stable and relatively free of crime. On the other hand, the faculty handbook outlines procedures for periods of "community tension," and specified personnel at Field wear personal security alarms.

Field's students exude enthusiam in classrooms and on the playground. Members of the crossing guard demonstrate their school pride as they orderly march from school to post and shoulder their stop signs with military flair. The warm and happy greetings that students and staff exchange further signal that the youngsters enjoy their school.

Despite this warmth and pride, youngsters at the school achieve at levels far below the average for their respective ages. Worsening economic conditions within the school's community, however, seem

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[4]This summary of the Field School Case Study was prepared from the work of Dr. John Ainley, a visiting scholar from the Australia Council for Educational Research, Hawthorn, Victoria, Australia.

to have no effect on the children's scores; scores neither rose nor fell significantly over the past five years.

Dr. Harold Mann, the school's leader, passionately voices his sympathies for these children and the overwhelming obstacles that many face in their pursuits of learning. He ardently desires to see them achieve and receive recognition at levels equal to their counterparts in more prosperous areas. He discusses the commitment and quality of a teaching staff that helps students in schools like Field and remarks that "real teaching" is exhibited only in his type of school.

The Principal

Entering Field Elementary School for the first time, one notices a certain precision, an efficiency exhibited in order, cleanliness, and neatness. These traits are observed in the bulletin boards and halls, the litter-free grounds, and the highly organized school office. Outside the principal's office, a four by six foot planning calendar incorporates typed cards that describe upcoming events. Again, the meticulous and organized quality of the calendar heightens one's awareness of these characteristics throughout the school. Entering the principal's office, one is struck again by neatness. As Harold Mann rises in greeting from behind a tidy, uncluttered desk, the feeling is vivid that one has reached the origin of the building-wide order.

Dr. Harold Mann has been principal of Field Elementary School for four years. He has worked in the Elmwood School District for nearly 20 years, progressing towards his current office through positions of teacher, counselor, math resource teacher and assistant principal. Before entering public education, he administered a religious school for a number of years. Currently he maintains his involvement in religious affairs through a neighborhood church, and his commitment to Christian ideals is evidenced by the "Good News" Bible he keeps on his desk and the helping hand he willingly extends to his staff and students.

Black and 45 years of age, Mann is a devoted husband and father of three children. One morning, Mann arrived late at school. Apologizing for his unusual tardiness, he explained that he had needed to review his youngest child's spelling lessons, a responsibility that he had not been able to accomplish the night before because of a late-running board meeting. School work often intrudes on his home life, as he prefers to complete paper work at home, maximizing time at the school for interactions with students, staff, and parents. Besides family duties, church responsibilities, paperwork, and his multiple involvements in community organizations, Mann jogs several miles each morning. In addition to the personal energy and drive that one might assume fuel this man, one can also begin to understand the importance of his insistence for order and efficient use of time.

Instructional Management at Field Elementary School

The instructional program at Field Elementary School is varied, and the staff is highly differentiated, reflecting extensive effort to identify and satisfy the special and individual needs of students. A program facilitator, halftime resource teacher, 13 classroom teachers, two art teachers, two pre-school teachers, four special education teachers, and a visiting music teacher comprise the core teaching staff. Twenty percent of this staff has taught fewer than six years and 60% has taught for more than 10 years. Their efforts and experience are bolstered by a large part-time support staff: 11 aides work directly with the instruction of children; two secretaries maintain records and order in the front office; and a speech therapist, nurse, psychologist, and "sight saving" teacher are available to the staff and students upon request. A campus supervisor (security person), cafeteria manager, and head custodian round out Field's full complement of staff persons. All of their activities, in the opinion of Harold Mann, fall under his aegis, and he supervises and coordinates their activities accordingly.

Principal Characteristics. As a beginning teacher in Elmwood District, Harold Mann's future career in education was greatly influenced by his first principal. Recognizing Mann's innovative approach to teaching and his commitment to underachieving students, the principal soon placed Mann in charge of the school's math enrichment and remediation laboratory. He further prodded Mann to consider school administration. Mann's reaction at the time was unenthusiastic.

> I wanted to be a good teacher. I wanted to be an excellent teacher. . . . [Administration], that's not my thing. I wanted to be a teacher because I like kids.

Encouragement and prompting continued until Mann accepted the argument that he would affect more children's school experiences as a principal than as a classroom teacher. Mann spent two years as a school counselor and four years as an assistant principal, completed his administration credential, and assumed his first principalship.

During those years of preparation and training, Mann learned to incorporate research and theory into his planning and activities. Today, he states that he was influenced by the "humanistic approach to education," and he explains his own tough-minded interpretation of that form of teaching.

> Not just this lovely stuff, you know, "I like you and I'll buy you popcorn" and all that stuff. What I'm talking about is that they care enough to teach the kids; that's what I mean by care. [Teachers] insist that they learn, they prepare, they have well planned lessons, and they see to it that children learn the material that is presented to them.

This view of caring is a key component of Mann's perspective on schooling. Moreover, he strongly feels that principals and teachers must accept responsibility for the performance of their charges.

> It's not [the students'] fault if [they're] in my class and don't learn. It's my fault and I should recognize that.

Thus, Mann's well defined personal value system seems an important component of the way he interprets the social context of schooling and a driving force in his goal to improve the life of children through education.

Influences from the Community Context. Harold Mann's conception of effective schooling defines a role for the principal in the community as well as within the school. In a depressed neighborhood of poor families with little formal education, Mann argues the importance of developing the community's commitment to the local school. For him, gaining the trust and support of his families "has something to do with how the community respects you as a community leader." Emphasizing this point, he stated, "A community leader, that's what the principal has to be."

To this end, he participates in several service organizations: Optimists, Big Brothers, and the Field Community Association. It would not be unusual to find Mann in his office mobilizing members of one of these organizations to provide food for desperate families, calling troubled or ill parents, or arranging hospital visitations for incapacitated members of his community. He wants this role extended and hopes to hire a full-time community assistant. Through such efforts, he believes that he can "[take] the message of the school to the community" and "[make] the school aware of community needs and community concerns."

The return for his efforts is demonstrated at Field Elementary School by active parent participation in PTA, Dad's Club, open houses, and the number of volunteers assisting the school in a variety of ways. In addition, Mann is successful at tapping businesses for additional resources: professionals speak to students about their careers; dozens of newspapers are delivered daily to the school free of charge; and negotiations are currently under way with a large bank to fund a computer-based tutorial program for students.

Mann's view of the importance of Field to its neighborhood was summed up in an inspirational talk to his staff:

> How many other professionals have to do all the kinds of things that educators have to do? Think of yourselves as miracle workers.

"Miracle workers" is a phrase he often uses when he refers to teachers and schools, but he tempers that view with another reality of the community in which he works. Watching a student pass by him on the playground, Mann remarked that the student was very bright

but that his grades were slipping badly. He explained the social environment of drugs and violence in which the boy lived. He concluded that school was this child's only chance in life, but he ended sadly, "I don't know whether we can succeed."

Influences from the Institutional Context. Not surprisingly, Mann views his institutional context of district, state and federal programs as opportunity rather than constraint. The district provides yearly grade-level expectations for student achievement that Mann accepts as challenging goals. To help achieve these goals he utilizes the expertise of the district research and evaluation office as well as the resources of the compensatory education program office. By opening his school to all visitors sent by the front office and by communicating regularly with the the personnel director, Mann is able to gain and exercise influence over the flow of teacher applicants to his school. State and federal programs are also viewed as more boon than bane, perhaps more so because Mann delegates the necessary paperwork to an administrative assistant at the school.

There is another important aspect to Mann's institutional context, a well developed professional network. Whereas many principals complain of isolation from their peers, Mann insists such isolation is a choice. He participates actively in a statewide principals' organization, an area principals' support group, a foundation-sponsored principal project, and an informal, weekly gathering of principals from his district.

Mann's Instructional Management Mode and Activities. Mann views the role of the principal as "master teacher." His concept is not surprising in the light of his belief: "Teaching is the most important thing about education." When one considers that his preferred form of instruction is at once well planned, accountable, and caring, it is easy to understand that his preferred principal style is concerned, direct leadership responsible for the delivery and outcome of instruction.

Thus, Mann's activities are directed towards the facilitation of quality teaching. He requires teachers to establish nine-week, achievement-based objectives for their students that accumulate to meet year-long expectations set by the district. He carefully monitors each teacher's progress by observing instruction, setting aside most of each morning for this activity. He regularly monitors and evaluates teachers' lesson plans and determines whether classroom activities are appropriate means to accomplish teachers' objectives. He tracks individual student progress on daily work and standardized tests to assess the effectiveness of the instructional program. More than required by the district, he holds conferences with teachers at least eight times a year, emphasizing the good as well as needed improvements in their performance. If he determines that his teachers lack skills or experience, this knowledge is used to structure the year's staff development program.

Complementing this tight-reined approach to instructional leadership, Mann assumes responsibility for guiding the social relations which form the community within his school. Although he never mentions that he is concerned with the personal side of his teachers' lives, his actions frequently demonstrate it. He also strives to know each child personally as well as academically, and encourages students to discuss their problems freely and directly with him.

Such familiarity is bred in several ways. Indirectly, children learn to expect Mann's attention through his frequent visits to classrooms. He also meets weekly with all students in the school's auditorium. Typically, teachers are not involved in these sessions, and Mann uses the opportunities to encourage students to discuss their problems about school, to show his concern for them, and to reinforce his expectations for their hard work. In another effort to reach out to children, Mann asks teachers to select five average students from each of their classes. He meets with this smaller group of children, converses with them individually, and asks about their work and activities whenever he encounters them at the school. He hopes that this special attention encourages each of these children. In addition, this effort provides him with another source of information about the school and the community.

Expected Climate Outcomes. Mann believes that the climate and the instructional organization of a school are important antecedents to student achievement and personal growth. Although it is possible to discuss some of his activities and their intended outcomes as related purely to climate or instructional organization, in Mann's opinion this is an artificial dichotomy.

The relationship that he sees between these two aspects of schools follows from his definition of school climate. He defines climate as those conditions that: a) foster an awareness in children that classrooms are serious work places; and b) inspire children to learn. He associates activities that effect changes in school procedures or structures with the first, and attributes success in the second area to his attention to the social and attitudinal aspects of the school community.

Thus, either type of activity may affect school climate. Creating a safe and orderly environment by requiring students to pass through hallways in single file and get to class on time or requiring a ten minute silent reading period in all classrooms after lunch each day are examples of the kind of procedural changes Mann makes to contribute to students' awareness of the classroom as a work place. Saturating children with successful role models with whom they can identify or establishing open and caring relationships with children are activities he expects will positively influence children's attitudes toward, and readiness for, learning.

Expected Influence on the Instructional Organization. Mann's concept of principal as "master teacher" foreshadows the kind of impact he expects to have on the instructional organization of Field

Elementary School. In short, he expects to plan and maintain a tightly structured program of instruction. As his efforts in the climate area are designed to contribute to student readiness for learning, his efforts in the instructional organization area are intended to create school-wide readiness for the delivery of effective instruction. The areas to which he attends most closely include staffing, instruction, curriculum, student outcomes evidenced in daily work and achievement scores, class composition, and time available for instruction.

Hiring the best teaching staff available is Mann's first priority. Like many principals, he feels that he has less control in this area than he would like. The district controls the flow of applicants to him. Many of them are teachers transferred from other schools within the district, persons other principals have declined to accept. The school's poor reputation does not help the situation. As earlier mentioned, however, Mann does what he can to gain influence in the personnel office, attempting to receive teachers who would benefit from a change or, perhaps, were less effective in other buildings because of personality conflicts. He attempts to remediate these teachers, planning individual staff development programs for them, and watching for steady signs of improvement.

Closely allied to this first priority is his attention to the nature of the instruction his teachers deliver. Although he strongly believes that there are a variety of effective teaching styles and encourages teachers to perfect their personal best, there are several basics on which he insists: lesson plans, time lines, specified sequences of activities, objectives, and plans for the needs of special students.

At Field Elementary School there is considerable emphasis on achievement in reading, language, and mathematics. But Mann complains of the tendency for schools in depressed areas to eliminate or de-emphasize other areas of instruction like art, science, and music. He worries about the motivational consequences of putting children on a steady diet of drill in the basic areas. He prefers an articulated program that includes enrichment subjects and innovative approaches to their instruction.

Mann monitors the daily work and annual achievement scores of his students. He expects teachers to do the same and to incorporate that knowledge into their planning. He helps devise special enrichment or remedial programs when necessary, but most importantly, he wants teachers to be aware that student achievement is related to the quality of their instruction.

Mann implements two other strategies to maximize the outcomes of instruction. These last two efforts, again, make less clear the boundary between climate and instructional organization. First, Mann attempts to match certain students to teachers with personalities or skills that would most benefit each student. Although this is a class composition decision, his reason for taking this

prerogative is partially based on a sense that it is important to create situations in which students are most comfortable and where teachers may best be able to satisfy their needs. Second, he is interested in promoting student achievement by assuring that they spend the most time possible working on their assignments. Once again, time on task--an instructional organization issue--is approached via school climate. Mann feels that his insistence on school-wide decorum results in students getting to class on time and in an emotional state that allows them to get quickly on with their tasks.

Expected Student Outcomes. Mann's expectations for students at his school have been highlighted throughout this description of his instructional management behavior. In short, he desires to see his students compete favorably with students from wealthier homes in the district. He wants them to grow to be useful and successful adults. He expects this to occur through a thoroughly planned approach to instruction that is carried out by individuals who are at once "miracle workers" and realists.

The scope of Mann's activities suggests that being a successful principal depends on more than personality. In this instance, instructional leadership stems from a rational process that is open to new methods and understandings and is highly interactive with the school's context. Figure 3 illustrates this story.

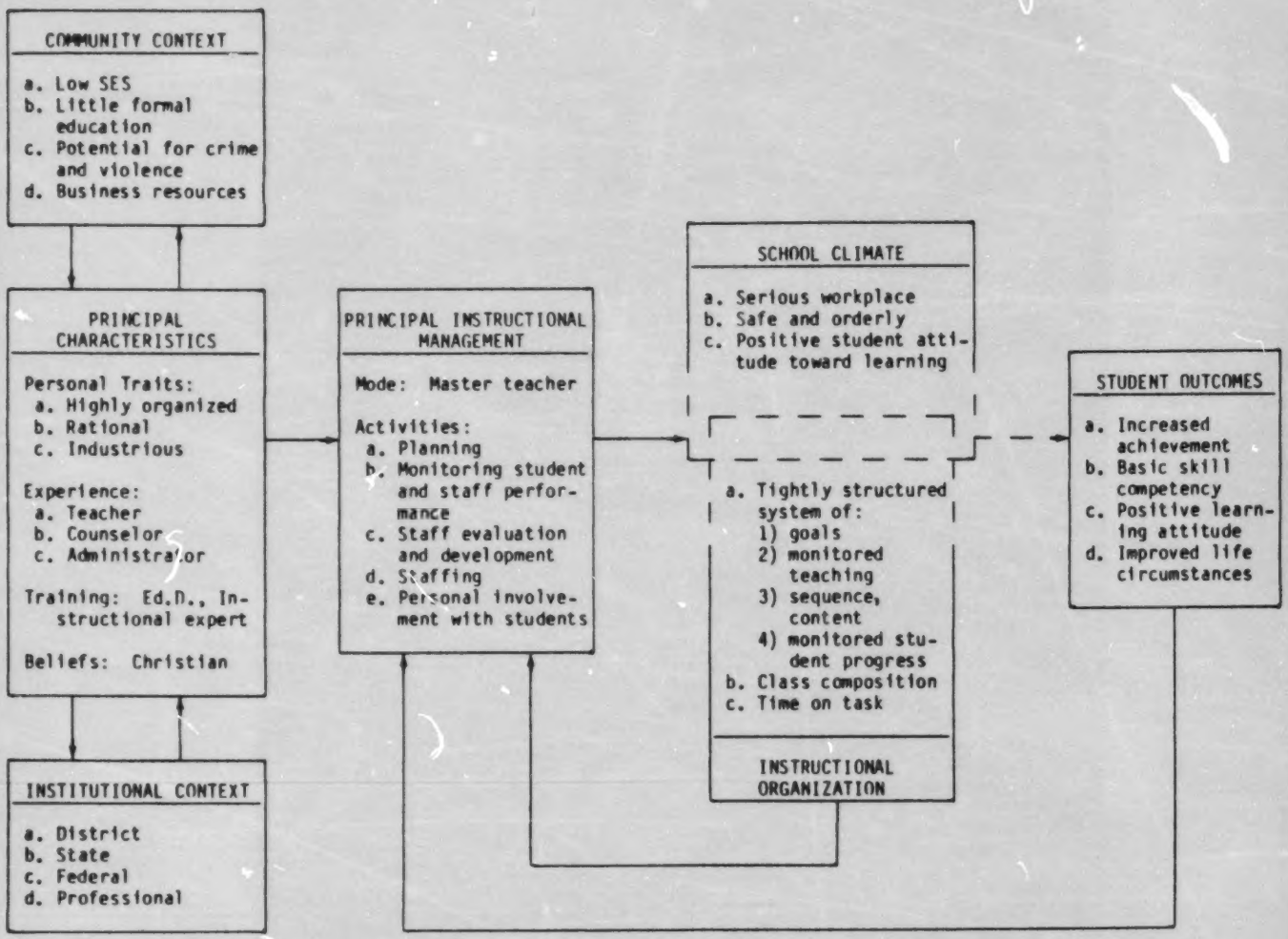

Figure 3: Instructional Management Model - Harold Mann, Field Elementary School

JOHN ROYCE AND VALLEY STREAM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL[5]

An Introduction to the Setting

Valley Stream Elementary School, a three-story concrete edifice, stands at the top of a sloped site several miles from the center of Bayview. The building and grounds are bounded by a major freeway, a freeway access ramp, and a broad avenue. The stairs that ascend from the avenue to the main entrance traverse two asphalt terraces that are surrounded by chain-link fences. These protected areas serve as playgrounds for students in grades 1-3. Behind the building, separated by more chain-link fence from the freeway and access ramp, is a larger paved playground for the upper-grade students. To one side is a row of "portable" classrooms used by some of the school's upper-grade classes and a special day class for students with learning handicaps.

The three floors of the main building house 13 of the school's 16 classrooms, which are grouped by grade level. The lower floor contains the school's cafeteria, three primary classrooms, including the kindergarten, and two smaller rooms used as reading and math "labs." On the main floor above, more primary classrooms line the front of the building, while to the rear are the administrative offices, the auditorium and another classroom. The corridor which separates the classrooms from the auditorium is broad, dark and high-ceilinged with only a few low bulletin boards to bring it down to children's scale. In less grandiose proportions, the top floor consists of classrooms for the upper grades and the faculty cafeteria. This room is also used as a place for students to carry out independent study, for aides to tutor students, and for after-school meetings.

The neighborhood surrounding Valley Stream contains apartment complexes and small local shops. Students who live here and attend Valley Stream come from homes in which the principal wage earner typically occupies an unskilled or semi-skilled job. Approximately 25% of the school's 475 students come from families that receive financial assistance from Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The composition of the student body is 63% Black, 10% Asian, 5% Spanish surname, and 22% White. Nearly 13% of these youngsters come from non-English or limited-English speaking homes. The most

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[5]This summary of the Valley Stream Elementary School case study was prepared from the work of Brian Rowan, Associate Research Scientist with the Instructional Management Program.

recent (1978) data provided to the school estimated student mobility at 42%. Current informal measures taken by teachers, counts of graduating sixth-graders whom they taught in previous years, indicate that high mobility continues to be a characteristic of Valley Stream's student population.

The Valley Stream staff pays careful attention to the results of norm referenced tests administered to their students and believes that the school's instructional program produces high levels of student achievement. The stated goals of the school are for students at all grade levels to average one month of growth (as measured by grade equivalent scores on the California Test of Basic Skills) for each month of instruction. Data for the past three years indicate that the school is meeting these criteria.

From all indications, Valley Stream is held in high regard in the district and community, and its enrollment has grown over the past several years. The principal, John Royce, works actively to maintain a good reputation. He recruits and cultivates the support and involvement of "key" parents, communicates with parents daily by phone, and organizes activities that increase the school's visibility in the larger community.

The Principal

> I'm not very philosophical. I don't care what some education writer writes. [If] you have a problem, something is wrong, you eliminate the problem.

Valley Stream's principal, John Royce, likes to think of himself as a problem solver. At the same time, he is also a man with a long-range vision for improving the school. This "program," as Royce terms it, has its origin in his personal experiences as a teacher at Valley Stream. It is the source of many of his day-to-day activities as principal.

Royce's beliefs about education reflect current trends; he stresses achievement, basic skills, and student behavior. However, he also believes that schools need to enrich the lives of students through art and creative writing, two areas that he emphasized as a classroom teacher.

Royce himself presents a kind of duality in his own personality and demeanor. Single, white, in his mid-forties, this casually dressed man is unprepossessing in informal situations, where his conversation is candid, irreverent, and witty. On the other hand, when he is promoting the school or acting as an authority figure, he is consciously political and a skilled presenter.

Instructional Management at Valley Stream Elementary School

Valley Stream's teachers offer a basic instructional program

for students in grades K-6, with support services provided through funds from Title I of the ESEA and from the state's School Improvement Program. The school is served by 16 classroom teachers, all of whom have taught for more than 10 years. Four specialists, a librarian, and 5 classroom aides add to the instructional staff. Classrooms are largely self-contained by grade level. A staggered reading schedule operates in the lower three grades. A program for Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) serves about two dozen youngsters who have been placed in two multi-grade classrooms, one at the 3-4 level, and one at the 5-6 level. The upper grades are also served by two more combinations, another 5-6 and a 4-5, together with four additional self-contained classrooms.

Royce's participation in the day-to-day operation of Valley Stream involves three main roles: spontaneous problem solver, school statesman, and school disciplinarian. As problem solver, he is available to staff and tours the building and grounds in search of "hot spots." As statesman, he develops and maintains parent support and acts as envoy between the school and the broader environment. As disciplinarian, he is both the cop on the beat and the chief judge in matters of misconduct. His day typically begins with the problem solver role and moves to statesman, then disciplinarian. After lunch the roles are repeated in a slightly different sequence: problem solver, disciplinarian, statesman. This periodicity is linked to the students' rhythms--the problems they bring to school from home and the situations they create during the day.

Little of Royce's daily time is spent in classrooms, and he treats evaluation activities more as paperwork than as a way of exercising instructional control. He describes himself as not liking "to mess with teachers much" and adds that the most important things a principal can do are to "make sure you [have] the right person[s]" and then "once you get them, you back them. You don't want anybody to mess with them, which means yourself." In the textbook sense, then, Royce does not act like an instructional leader. His day-to-day activities are loosely coupled to classrooms, but in view of his long-range strategy for school improvement they do affect both teaching and learning. His program has led to continual activities in the areas of discipline and parent involvement which appear to affect both educational climate and instructional organization at Valley Stream. Additionally, many of his one-time decisions or short-term projects can be regarded as having effects on teaching and learning.

Principal Characteristics. Eleven of Royce's 17 years in education have been spent in the Bayview district, most of them at Valley Stream School, where he taught in the upper grades before becoming principal. During his years as a teacher, he was active in the local teachers' association and served for one year as the elected president of that organization. During 1980 and 1981, Royce was acting principal at Valley Stream for several lengthy periods when his predecessor was ill. Although he originally did not intend to become a principal, he found the job rewarding and

attained his administrative credential through examination. In April 1981, after having served as acting principal for the entire academic year, he was appointed to the principalship at Valley Stream.

Influences from the Community Context. The working class status of the area from which Valley Stream draws its students, and the associated problem of high student turnover, underscore the difficulty of Royce's attempt to make the school an exemplary one. He is well aware of the unfavorable odds that face Valley Stream compared to schools that serve more affluent neighborhoods. A major thrust of his program, then, is to create an environment at Valley Stream that makes students feel like first-class citizens.

Influences from the Institutional Context. Royce views Bayview district's shortage of funds as a major constraint on his activities. The general funds which the school receives provide a bare minimum of supplies and textbooks. As a result, he emphasizes the importance of tapping the resource potential of the community to counter shortages of district funds.

An additional constraint is the district's testing program, which includes two norm referenced tests: one administered to all students every year and the other given only to third and sixth grade classes. Results on these tests are important for the school's image in both the district and the community.

Valley Stream's involvement in Title I and School Improvement is important to Royce's plan; they provide sources of additional funding. Title I assistance enables Royce to hire reading and math resource teachers, who operate a pullout program, as well as two aides who tutor upper grade students in their regular classrooms. Most of the state School Improvement funds are used to pay for two instructional aides for the lower grades; remaining funds support activities such as assemblies, field trips, and staff development.

Royce's Instructional Management Modes and Activities. John Royce has a plan for his school and speaks of it frequently. His program guides at least some of his actions, but only some; his behavior includes a number of activities that are inconsistent with the plan. Many of these activities, planned and unplanned, hold implications for instruction and the quality of student experience at his school.

The following discussion organizes Royce's activities into three categories: those related to the plan or "Principal's Program"; a special but potent activity, "Principal's Pals"; and a ubiquitous "Other Activities" that attempts to communicate some of his more singular behaviors. The reader is warned that this organization of the data perhaps places more order in the mix of activities observed at Valley Stream School than Royce himself would attribute to his actions. As he freely admits, "I'm not very philosophical."

Royce describes his long-range plan, the Principal's Program, in terms of a series of steps.

> I used last year to zero in on student behavior and developed the school's discipline policy. This year I'm zeroing in on parents. . . . Parent support develops money; money then allows you to take care of the physical appearance of the school. . . . With student behavior being maintained at close to excellent levels . . . with the plant being taken care of this year, the next area of need that I see is to refurbish the textbooks and see to it that the teachers have the materials they need to teach.

This program for school improvement is based on certain underlying assumptions. Royce explains that his attention to upgrading texts follows concerns with discipline and parent support because textbooks are of no value if students are not behaving and trying. Further, problems with student effort are exacerbated if parents are not supportive. He sees "a good school climate," including a well controlled student body, as a necessary condition for a successful education program.

The three strands of his program, discipline, parent support, and uniform textbooks, place different kinds of demands on Royce and have a number of implications for school climate and instructional organization.

Royce considers his role as school disciplinarian as the most important, and notes that discipline at Valley Stream collapses if he is absent for an extended period. Besides performing disciplinary supervision on the school grounds and in the lunchroom, he sets aside a portion of each afternoon for handling disciplinary referrals. Formal rules specify a warning for a first violation, a letter home for the second, and a one-day suspension for the third. A fourth violation begins the pattern again, with a longer suspension at the end for violators who complete the cycle. Despite these formalities, Royce's handling of referrals is highly personalized and not always in accord with sentencing requirements. Royce's special affection for nearly all offenders leads him to alternate between being tough and tender. He often ignores his rules simply because he likes a student and is forgiving. He is aware of his own inconsistencies.

> I really like that kid. I can't believe that this is his eighth referral and I haven't suspended him. That's an example of an inconsistent, unjust discipline policy.

Reflecting later on the above statement, Royce reported that he did not see the example as an instance of "real inconsistency" but rather as a matter of exercising judgment with regard to this particular youngster. According to Royce, the youngster's referrals were more the result of immature behavior rather than of his doing

anything seriously wrong. Royce added that his remark to the researcher was intended to make light of that use of judgment, which could appear inconsistent with his established policy.

An outgrowth of Royce's discipline policy and his history as a classroom teacher is the informal club which he calls the Principal's Pals. This group consists of 25-30 students whom Royce disciplines often and who, despite their discipline problems, have a "winning quality about them." Royce described this group as consisting of boys and girls from all grades. During the time of this study, however, the researcher's experiences with the Principal's Pals consisted entirely of instances involving upper grade boys. Royce assigns members of this group tasks such as setting up chairs in the auditorium or distributing class photos as means of making them feel important and integrated into school life. For many of them, he watches after their academic progress and ensures that they receive appropriate assignments to classrooms. In one instance, Royce placed one of his "pals" in a GATE classroom, predicting that being in a high ability context would increase the student's test scores. The student jumped 14 percentiles in a single year, a shift from well below grade level to just above.

Royce's attention to discipline at Valley Stream, despite his idiosyncratic lapses, has resulted in a safe and orderly school. It has also influenced instructional organization, since Royce considers students' citizenship grades when he assigns them to classrooms. He attempts to keep the number of misbehaving students fairly equally distributed, with allowances made for teachers who enjoy working with problem students. One can speculate that such a pattern of distribution minimizes classroom disruptions.

Another area to which Royce devotes considerable attention is the cultivation of parent support. This element of his program stems largely from his experiences at Valley Stream as a teacher and the scarcity of funds received from the district. When Royce assumed the principalship, lack of parent support made it difficult to obtain the legally required participation of parents on school committees. At the same time, years of being a "poor" school had taken a toll on Valley Stream's stock of textbooks and other instructional materials. Thus, Royce's cultivation of parent support has several purposes. One is the matter of legal conformity with the requirements of state and federal programs for parent participation. Another is the concern for solidifying his position in the school and protecting and building a positive reputation for Valley Stream. In addition, Royce sees an active PTA as a means of raising funds to refurbish both the physical plant and the supply of instructional materials. In the past year, for example, the PTA raised $3500 to re-landscape the terraced front yard and add curtains to the auditorium, efforts which Royce considers important for students' self-esteem. He expects PTA funds to be used next year to provide a uniform language text series and to purchase science texts and equipment.

Royce's work with parents also influences the school's instructional organization. For example, children of key parents receive special attention when he allocates students to classrooms. Similarly, he works closely with primary teachers to arrange the split reading schedule to accommodate as many parents as possible. Finally, Royce's contacts with parents can also influence the instructional experiences of individual students, as when he tries to obtain the support of particular parents if he believes this would benefit their child's school experience.

One of Royce's most obvious acts of instructional leadership is his stress on upgrading the texts used at Valley Stream. When he took over as principal, he reports, "We were using old books we just dug up from the corners." Beyond insisting that the school have enough current texts, Royce also insisted on having uniform textbook series in reading, math and language for the whole school. In the past two years, he has been able to purchase uniform textbook series for the reading and math programs in grades 1-6. In his view, this promotes a "consistent program" of instruction.

Although texts are the major way curriculum is influenced at Valley Stream, Royce does not use this strategy to exercise tight control. To begin with, he leaves the choice of the particular text to teachers. Furthermore, his insisting that the chosen text be used throughout grades 1-6 may not actually promote consistency because teachers are free to supplement the texts. They report doing so in reading classes at the primary level and in the upper GATE classes. In math, however, teachers report that Royce's decision does promote more consistency across classrooms at the same grade level. Finally, the purchase of textbooks appears to have some effect on the pacing and sequencing of instruction. Even with the purchase of a uniform reading series, for example, the limited number of available copies of any given level of the series requires that teachers share sets. The availability of materials, then, influences teachers' decisions about pacing and sequencing, especially near the end of the year when the faster students in the lower grade classes begin to catch up with the slower students in higher grades.

Besides the activities that Royce carries out as part of his long-range program at Valley Stream, he has also made a number of other decisions with implications for the school's instructional organization. These Other Principal Activities are more singular and particularistic in nature, not motivated by a concern for instructional organization. In many instances, Royce does not appear to be aware of the consequences of such decisions. For example, a decision to reassign a teacher from a lower grade to an upper one improved cooperation among staff in two ways. First, the change made it easier for the group of teachers at the lower level to share books, since the teacher who left this group was the one who had been most uncooperative about giving up her books. Somewhat surprisingly, this same teacher, who was perceived to make collaboration among teachers more difficult in the lower grades, was also reported to have influenced the upper-grade

teachers, who had been less closely connected, toward a more collaborative orientation.

Similarly, by reorganizing classrooms to locate those at the same grade level close to each other, Royce may have affected instructional processes by shortening transition times between small group reading periods.

Finally, Royce makes some contributions to the aggressive use of special programs at Valley Stream, which also affects instruction. These contributions include ensuring that all the funds due the school are collected, actively managing budgets to coordinate the use of external funds with funds devoted to the overall program, helping with paperwork, setting up required meetings between parents and staff, and facilitating the processing of plans by arranging for all the involved specialists to be on campus on the same day.

Expected Student Outcomes. Royce's thoughts about goals and outcomes are couched more in terms of the school as a whole than in terms of individual students. His primary concern is to improve Valley Stream's reputation in the community and the district, to make it a "first-class" school despite economic problems and high student mobility. Attention to student achievement in terms of standardized test scores is one means to this end, but one that Royce leaves largely in the hands of his teachers. Rather than providing instructional leadership in terms of actual classroom activities, Royce expends most of his efforts in activities that he considers more important: maintaining discipline, acting as the school's statesman with parents and other community members, dealing with specific problems as they arise, and interacting with his "pals." Figure 4 illustrates the John Royce story.

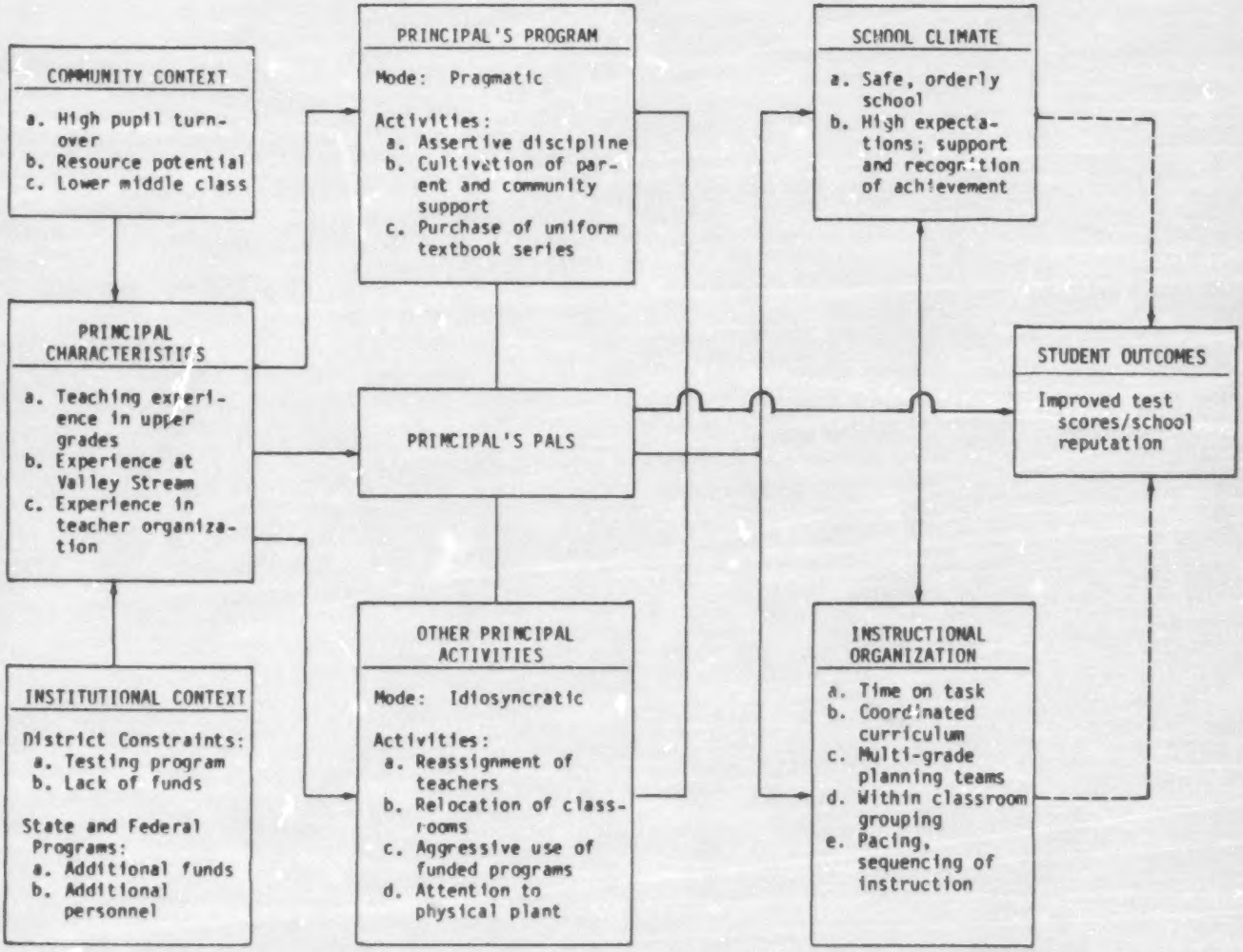

Figure 4: Instructional Management Model - John Royce, Valley Stream Elementary School

MARTHA DELLING AND BOXER HEIGHTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL[6]

An Introduction to the Setting

Nestled in a residential area of Ellingham, on an expansive site, sits Boxer Heights Elementary School. The 15-year-old school building is a single level contemporary design in tidy beige stucco. At its hub is a large multi-use room and the school library or resource center. Each of the four wings which extend from the corners of this hub contains three or four classrooms, and each classroom has a door to the outside, allowing easy access to the grounds. Except for the parking area and the play area, these grounds are covered entirely by lush lawns. The play area is equipped with swings made of old tires and several wooden "sculptures" created and donated by parents.

The area from which Boxer Heights draws its students includes a range of housing from low cost apartment dwellings to more elaborate homes in the town's affluent section in the hills. The majority of the 415 students, however, live in the kind of modest, single family ranch style houses that surround the school. About half (55%) of these students are White, 22% have Spanish surnames, 11% are Black, 7% are Asian, and 4% belong to other ethnic groups. About 6% of the student population has been identified as non- or limited-English speaking.

The working class character of the Ellingham district is mirrored in the Boxer Heights neighborhood, where over 50% of the students' parents are engaged in skilled or unskilled occupations. In 1982, about 20% of the students' families received financial assistance under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The number of low-income families at Boxer Heights has been declining steadily over the past five years, as has student turnover. Whereas mobility figures for the five-year period have been as high as 70%, with 50-60% typical, the 1982 estimate is down to 15%. The school's performance on the state's norm referenced tests has shown a general improvement trend over the same period.

A visitor to Boxer Heights is likely to note the prevailing aura of courtesy and order. An atmosphere of quiet industry

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[6]This summary of the Boxer Heights Elementary School case study was prepared from the work of Gloria Ladson, research intern with the Instructional Management Program.

pervades the environment. As members of the community within the school, children and adults are charged with specific rights and responsibilities. Expectations for cooperation can be seen in operation on the playground, where youngsters play together with a minimum of conflict. Here, as elsewhere, they are guided by the six school-wide rules that constitute the discipline policy: respect all adults; use common sense; be in assigned areas; keep your hands, feet, and objects to yourself; complete all work assigned; and use only kind words.

From all indications, the school's reputation in the district is a positive one. The number of parents seeking to enroll their youngsters from outside the attendance area is one indication of this. In addition, the number of staff members whose children attend Boxer Heights has been increasing. Finally, Ellingham's district administrators are pleased with Boxer Heights; the school is a virtual showcase for visitors to the district.

The Principal

Boxer Heights' leader, Marth Delling, is a thirty-six year old Black woman. Spirited and ambitious, she has energetically led the staff and students for the past five years. Twelve of her 15 years in education have been spent in the Ellingham district. She brings a rich and varied background to her work as principal. She has been a teacher at the elementary, secondary, and adult levels; a counselor; a program manager for federally- and state-funded programs; and a teaching vice principal at Boxer Heights prior to assuming her present position.

An important component of Delling's leadership derives from her desire to keep her finger on the pulse of the school. This translates into an open-door policy with regard to both staff and students and a high level of visibility outside her office. Most days find her stopping in the teachers' lounge in the morning as staff arrives, spending the last part of the lunch hour with the teachers, visiting classrooms throughout the day on an informal basis, and dropping in on teachers after the students have been dismissed. These are all opportunities to hear teachers' concerns and requests, share ideas and information, try out new ideas with key teachers, and generally demonstrate to her staff that she is available to them. Similarly, she greets students as they arrive for the day, moving up and down the jagged lines of smiling faces, laughing, greeting, scolding, praising, making sure that no egos are stepped on and that order prevails. Lunchtime provides another opportunity to interact with youngsters. After the last child has been fed, she spends time on the playground, where she can "handle problems immediately" and "speak to the children informally." At the end of the day, when the children are dismissed, she positions herself somewhere between the main office and the front door. She stands available for questions and concerns and may receive a handmade gift or a freshly picked flower.

> I don't know, maybe I'm just nosy, but I think it is important for me to be all over the school. I think I need that contact with everyone in the school.

Delling believes that a school should be a happy place, that people should feel comfortable about being there. She believes in everyone's right to be heard, but maintains her right as principal to be in charge: "The ultimate responsibility for what happens in the school falls on the principal's shoulders." Although she leads with warmth, humor, and a concern for others, she clearly sets the expectations for instruction and climate at Boxer Heights.

Instructional Management at Boxer Heights Elementary School

The instructional program at Boxer Heights involves 15 classrooms for students in grades K-7. The kindergarten classes are team taught. Grades 1-5 are generally self-contained. Sixth- and seventh-graders participate in a Core Program. Each of the three teachers in this program teaches reading and mathematics to a homeroom group. In addition, each teacher offers a speciality, such as social studies, creative writing, or science, through which all the Core students are cycled.

Reading instruction at Boxer Heights operates on a staggered schedule, with half the students beginning an hour early in the morning and the other half staying an hour late. There are also several specially funded programs at Boxer Heights. About 60% of the students are eligible to participate in the school's federally-funded Title I program. Another source of funds is the state's School Improvement Program (SIP). Combined funds from these programs allow Boxer Heights to employ classroom aides. Together with several specialists, a total of 20 aides assists the 16 regular classroom teachers. Over 90% of these teachers have more than 7 years of experience in the classroom.

Principal Characteristics. Much of Delling's behavior as principal can be traced to her background. Undergirding all of her work is a belief system, a personal philosophy, that emerges from her history. Growing up in a segregated southern community provided her with the advantage of having professional Blacks in the community as role models. The environment was also a protective and supportive one for Black children. These experiences contributed to her belief that race, poverty, and social standing do not interfere with the learning and achievement potential of children. She disparages what she refers to as "60's cop-outs," such as excusing students' disrespectful behavior in terms of their "disadvantaged" backgrounds.

Nor does she approve of teachers "blaming" students and their parents for failures to learn rather than thinking in terms of the curriculum or other strategies for improving programs. Both her beliefs and her experiences in a number of different school roles have led her to see the principalship as an avenue for bettering the educational experiences of youngsters through improving the quality of instructional programs.

In trying to put her beliefs into practice, Delling's strategy for working with staff and students has its origin in her training and experience in counseling. She regards that training as much more important to her work than her administrative training. She prefers dealing with people "on a human level, one to one," persuading and convincing rather than dictating. Delling is usually able to elicit the cooperation she seeks by using this approach.

Influence from the Community Context. Given Delling's beliefs about the unimportance of students' backgrounds for their learning, she does not see the character of the Boxer Heights attendance area as a constraint, but simply as the source of the school's student population. It is also a resource, providing parent volunteers for a variety of activities. Teachers rarely have trouble enlisting parents and other community members to accompany classes on field trips, arrange parties, or help out in the classroom.

Influences from the Institutional Context. For Delling, the most important institutional influence on her work involves her participation in a district program for improving instruction. This program involves training staff members in lesson design and behavior management skills and then supervising them as they use these skills in their classrooms. Delling was commended in a district newsletter for involving her entire staff in this development activity. Her enthusiastic adoption of an important district effort, her willingness to accommodate visitors to the district, and her being perceived by the district administration as an instructional leader enable her to exercise autonomy in responding to other kinds of district incursions on her time. Saying "yes" in certain instances allows her to say "no" in others.

Delling's Instructional Management Modes and Activities. The many observed behaviors that Delling uses to guide teaching and learning at Boxer Heights yield a rich picture of influence activities and mode. Delling has made several decisions and initiated a number of practices that directly influence the organization of instruction in classrooms. She also attends to the learning climate at Boxer Heights through a variety of direct strategies with students. At the same time, she has a strong preference for using indirect influence strategies, and much of her day-to-day interaction with staff is guided by this mode.

As a former counselor, a person who prefers to have others "come around and make their own decisions," Delling tries to lead her staff by being highly visible. She uses suggestion, persuasion, and example, operating as a catalyst: "I try to deal with [problems] on an informal basis, starting up a conversation with the teacher about the situation." She uses this strategy, for example, as a way of encouraging teachers to modify elements of their teaching. Sometimes she works through key staff members, teachers who are respected by their peers. By letting these people know what she thinks is important, Delling can be assured that these ideas will be dispersed among the staff. It is not always the case, however, that the general indirect approach is effective or appropriate

for achieving certain ends. In these instances, Delling will confront staff members and reserve for herself the final decision.

Expected Climate Outcomes. There are a number of ways in which Delling's decisions and behavior influence the climate at Boxer Heights, helping to achieve the sense of courtesy, order, and fairness that prevails. One of her major decisions involved simplifying the disicipline rules, reducing them from over 20 to just 5; these are posted in all classrooms and known by all students. Delling handles discipline referrals in a consistent manner. The first violation finds the student in her office. Delling talks with the youngster, has the child work on the classwork being missed, and then asks the student to explain to her how he or she will handle a similar situation in the future. If a student is sent to her a second time for the same infraction, the youngster receives a schedule of times to report to her office during recess to write out the rule that has been violated.

These activities not only promote a positive learning climate but affect the instructional program as well. First of all, Delling's handling of discipline frees teachers from having to deal with student misbehavior that interferes with instruction. In addition, Delling is often able to use her discipline contacts with students as opportunities for direct teaching. Since she sees that students bring classwork with them, has them complete these assignments in her office, and then checks their work, she can correct and reteach concepts or skills on a one-to-one basis.

Although she stresses the importance of a consistent discipline policy, Delling also believes strongly in students' rights to be heard. She is available to them on both an informal and a formal basis. Informally, as she tours the site before school, during recess and lunch, and after school, she will try to handle problems she encounters. Formally, she schedules monthly meetings with all of the students in a principal-student assembly. Two shifts of students, first through third grade, then fourth through seventh, enter the multi-use room and sit on the floor. Standing at the front, Delling leads a discussion of the youngsters' issues. She uses role playing and other counseling strategies at these sessions, seeking to resolve problems students are having on the playground or in their classrooms. Between meetings, students come to Delling and ask her to list agenda items for the next session in a notebook she keeps for that purpose. Delling is also able to listen to student concerns in her capacity as the advisor to the student council; again she keeps a notebook for entering items for future agendas.

Influence on the Instructional Organization. There are numerous ways in which Delling influences classroom instruction at Boxer Heights, directly as well as indirectly. The involvement of her entire teaching staff in the district's staff development program at her insistence is an example. To support this activity, she also initiated several practices at the school level. One is a modified schedule of classes in which students are dismissed early

on Mondays so that teachers can have time for staff development activities. The fact that the community and district support this modification is an indication that they feel the time is well spent. In addition, Delling and her assistant principal alternate front office responsibilities on the other four days to free each of them for two days of classroom observation each week. She supplements her direct observations by requiring teachers to turn in lesson plans on a regular weekly basis.

Another decision which Delling used to influence instruction was to have teachers change their grade level teaching assignments. This was a decision which she saw as risky but important in terms of teacher renewal and articulation of instruction across grades. Despite initial teacher resistance to the idea, she reported that the effects have been "almost like starting again, starting over. . . . It was really beautiful." Although she promised staff that they would have the option of moving back to their old assignments at the end of a trial period, none wanted to do that.

A final decision that Delling made to influence instruction in a direction she sees as important involved changing the school's kindergarten program from a developmental one to an academic one. This was an especially risky change because it required removing from the staff a very experienced kindergarten teacher who had a lot of community support. Delling was willing to take the risk because she believes so strongly in the importance of setting an academic agenda for her students from the very first.

Expected Student Outcomes. Delling's leadership at Boxer Heights is designed to promote student learning through a strong instructional program and through the creation of an environment that supports that program. Student achievements in both citizenship and academic performance are given school-wide recognition through special field trips and at assemblies. In a sense, Delling strives to create at Boxer Heights a kind of microcosm, a world of order, justice, and respect, that both enables and encourages students to make the best use of learning opportunities. Figure 5 illustrates Martha Delling's view of the world at Boxer Heights Elementary School.

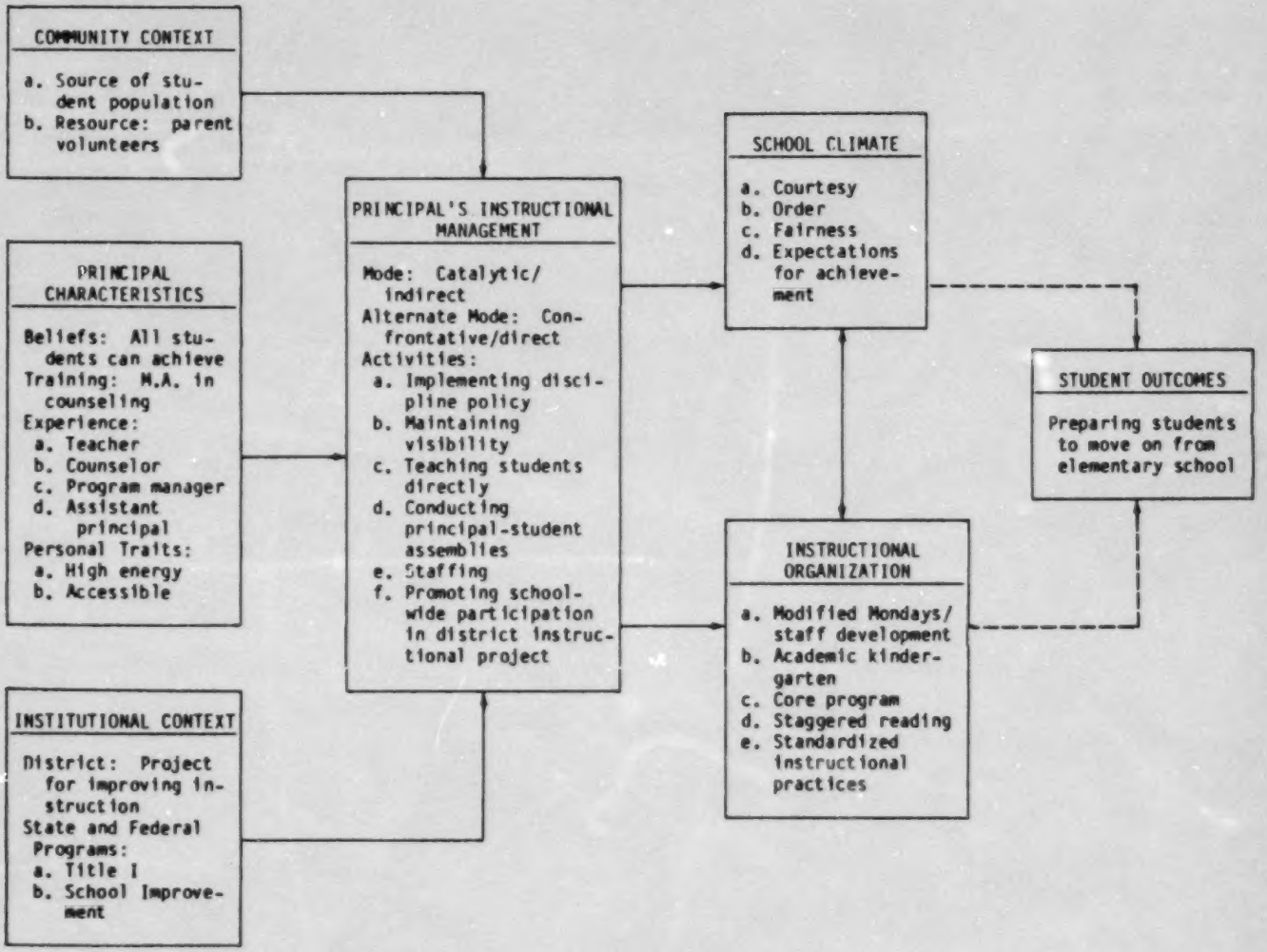

Figure 5: Instructional Management Model - Martha Delling, Boxer Heights Elementary School

GREGORY ALEXANDER AND LINCOLN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL[7]

An Introduction to the Setting

Lincoln Junior High School, one of two intermediate schools in the Brentwood district, sits on a spacious and open site, separated from the street in front by a broad expanse of lawn which extends around one side of the buildings to join the athletic fields at the back of the site. This image of suburban sprawl is enhanced by the larger surroundings, for the school is located in an area of single-family tract housing; a city park with a fitness course, public tennis courts, a Little League playing field, and a feeder elementary school on the equally spacious adjoining site all contribute to this sense of openness.

Most of Lincoln's 33 classrooms are clustered in three separate buildings which surround the central "quad" area, a gathering place for students before school, during the morning recess, and at lunch time. In addition, a separate main office building, a library, and 8 "portables" complete the physical plant. The complex is partly secured by a system of gates and fences, some of which match the redwood exteriors of the buildings.

The 650 eighth and ninth graders who attend Lincoln come largely from working class homes. The composition of the group is 7% Black, 17% Spanish surname, 10% Asian, and 66% White. Typical of junior high students, their physical development spans a wide range. As a group, they are energetic and enthusiastic. Many of them, boys as well as girls, come to school dressed according to the latest styles and fads.

Until recently, Lincoln's students consistently outscored those from the district's other junior high school in their performance on standardized tests. This year, however, the scores for ninth graders on a nationally normed achievement test put them at the 52nd percentile in mathematics, the 51st in reading and the 44th in language, which placed them about 7 percentile points below the other school. Lincoln's principal, Gregory Alexander, is concerned about this reversal and associates it with the district reorganization of schools which occurred two years ago. At that time, the school's

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[7] This summary of the Lincoln Junior High School case study was prepared from the work of Ginny Lee, Program Assistant for the Instructional Management Program.

staffing was changed considerably, with an influx of 16 new staff members, whereas the the staff at the other school was virtually untouched. As Alexander assesses the situation, "The staffing change at this school has been detrimental to the instructional program on this side of town." At the same time, he is quick to point out to his staff that Lincoln's students have scored higher on the district's proficiency tests.

The Principal

Although this is his first year as a principal and his first at Lincoln, Greg Alexander is no stranger to the Brentwood schools. He was raised in the district and was graduated from Brentwood High School where he later taught science for six years and spent an additional six as an assistant principal. His administrative background includes management of discipline at the high school and leadership of the committee responsible for administering the School Improvement Program grant, a state-funded project which involves school staff, parents, and students in the planning and implementation of a program of instructional improvement at the school level. But he believes that his experience as assistant principal for instruction was the crucial element in his advancement to the principalship.

> Now, it's important to be in curriculum, an instruction person in this district. . . . That's an important role to have . . . whether that experience comes from the central office . . . or because you happen to be an assistant principal in charge of instruction. But you won't be a principal in this district unless you have that experience.

Besides this experience, Alexander brings to his new role other qualities that he considers important to the achievement of program goals. He is highly organized, politically astute, and skilled in working with people. Young (35), Black, always impeccably dressed and groomed, Alexander projects confidence and charm. He is both direct and sincere with people, and he consciously uses his exceptionally warm smile to win over both staff members and students.

Part of Alexander's motivation to be a principal was the desire to assume responsibility for a total school program. This orientation is evident in his management of Lincoln. He insists on the importance of his being able to perform the roles of all of his staff members, from clerks to counselors. He sees this as essential to keep the system from "falling down" if one person is missing or otherwise unable to meet some responsibility. Although he relies on his assistant principal, counselors, and department chairpersons in coordinating and implementing the instructional program, there is no doubt that he willingly assumes the final responsibility for instructional management at Lincoln Junior High School.

Instructional Management at Lincoln Junior High School

The instructional program at Lincoln is administered by a staff made up of the principal, an assistant principal, two counselors (each of whom teaches one period a day), a librarian, twenty-seven full time teachers, and five part-time instructors who teach one or two periods per day. The school day consists of six 50-minute teaching periods. The curriculum is departmentalized around core subjects in English, mathematics, social studies, physical education, and science. In addition, instruction is offered on an elective basis in industrial arts, home economics, typing, foreign languages, crafts, and music. Courses are offered by grade level except for some basic-skills classes that combine students from both grades.

Principal Characteristics. Alexander views his behavior as principal largely as a function of personal traits which he brings to the role and competencies acquired from past experiences. He approaches his responsibilities in a manner that is logical, rational, and highly goal-oriented. He considers himself to be conservative compared to other administrators in the district. By this he means that he prefers to have policies and procedures spelled out clearly and followed consistently. He believes that people will respond favorably to the reasonableness of a rational and predictable environment.

In providing this type of leadership for Lincoln, Alexander brings to bear several other important qualities. One is his ability to see the whole picture, the many sides of issues that arise, and to deal with these in his planning and decision making. Part of this capacity involves the ability to anticipate individuals' or groups' responses and concerns to various situations. Alexander's understanding of group processes and his skills in using strategies such as active listening enable him to implement plans and decisions without alienating staff members or students. Additionally, he reflects on each day's events to assess his performance and to build on his own experience.

Influences from the Community Context. At Lincoln, the opportunities for community influence reside largely in two kinds of parent involvement. As a school receiving funds under the state's School Improvement Program, Lincoln must establish annually a School Site Council made up of school staff, students, and community members. Alexander considers this council to be a powerful influence on the thrust of the school's instructional program; at the same time, the parents and students who serve on Lincoln's council are clearly supportive of Alexander's plans.

Parents exercise a different kind of influence at Lincoln through individual conferences with the school's administrators. In these meetings, it is common for parents to voice expectations for the school, often concerning matters of student discipline. According to Alexander, such expectations are frequently the outgrowth of problems that the parents are having with their adolescents

at home. When parents offer relevant information about their home situation, he encourages their attempts to understand possible connections between home and school problems and supports their efforts to resolve them. At times, however, he finds it necessary to assert that some problems must be solved in the home, that they lie beyond the purview of the school.

Influences from the Institutional Context. Lincoln's participation in the state-funded School Improvement Program allows the school to supplement its basic instructional program in ways that are not seen as costly or constraining to the school. By contrast, Alexander sees the Brentwood district as exercising stronger external influence on the school. He points to staffing constraints during an era of consolidation as critical, with the junior highs caught between the needs of the elementary and senior high schools. Centralization of curriculum, emphasis on accountability, and establishment of other policies at the district level have a direct effect on the operation of Lincoln's program. District homework policy is a controversial issue with Lincoln's teachers, and a new program to place suspended students at a temporary center (rather than send them home) is costly to the school in terms of both administrators' and teachers' time. As a way of mediating district influence and because he has "a tremendous need to be heard," Alexander is a member of several committees that enable him to participate in district-level decisions.

The Principal as Processor. The approach that Alexander takes to the principal's role is grounded largely in his attention to what he calls "process." While he views process partly as a matter of working well with people, he realizes that a good relationship with staff is not a measure of how well a principal does his job. Implicit in much of his behavior, and explicit in his discussion of his work, is an attention to processes as critical means in the attainment of school goals. Many of these concern working with staff to elicit their cooperation and support. Such processes as advance planning, gathering data to support positions he takes, anticipating staff members' responses to issues and suggestions, clarifying expectations, and reinforcing desired behaviors all contribute to Alexander's capacity to generate and maintain staff support for improvements and changes in the instructional program. To this end he emphasizes an approach to decision making that is based on the classical, rational model. He also considers it important that he be able to monitor whatever policies or programs he tries to put into place.

For Alexander, the changes he envisions for Lincoln include raising student achievement and raising expectations for teacher performance. In both cases, he regards progress toward these goals in terms of attaining intermediate objectives. For example, he realizes that many instances of student failure in classes are actually cases of not completing any work for teachers to evaluate;

so an intermediate goal toward improving student achievement is for students to become more productive in their classes. Similarly, an intermediate step in changing norms for teacher performance is to have all teachers teaching in their major or minor subject areas.

Alexander's Instructional Management Modes and Activities. In working with his staff and students, Alexander's style of interacting is most typically personalized and charismatic. He relies heavily on his human relations skills to steer him through interactions. He describes himself as a "pretty persuasive person" and produces one of his characteristic wide smiles as he adds, "Usually I get what I want, usually." When this mode of influencing by persuasion doesn't work, Alexander may substitute a more authoritative mode, what he calls "administrative prerogative"; alternatively, if the situation demands it, he will occasionally confront an individual directly. The bottom line for him is what he considers to be in the students' best interest. He reports that he has become much more of an advocate for students since assuming the principalship at Lincoln. In all of these instances, whether persuading, exercising authority, or confronting, Alexander monitors the affective tone of the interaction and remains sensitive to the feelings of the students, staff members and parents with whom he deals.

Like most school site principals, Alexander's day encompasses a myriad of specific activities and interactions. At a more abstract level, however, Alexander's activities can be grouped to represent the general strategies he uses to lead his staff. Much of his time is spent in the role of information processor. He is most often the person responsible for exchanging information between the district and staff; and he is also at the center of the information network between the staff and school administration, although he depends heavily here on his six department chairpersons. He is also an interventionist. Many of his interactions with students and parents are instances of direct problem solving. During the time that he spends touring the school grounds and visiting classrooms he is often engaged as a formal or informal monitor. For example, scheduled visits to classrooms are part of the formal evaluation procedure, involving preconference, observation, and postconference, while errands that takes him past open classroom doors are informal opportunities to check for variety in teachers' instructional activities. While the above activities serve to maintain the organization, he also devotes a measure of his time to developing and promoting programs and procedures that he believes will help lead to the attainment of overall goals. This last role is that of change initiator.

Expected Climate Outcomes. Alexander sees his style of leadership, especially his sensitivity to the feelings of others, as a model for the other adults who work at Lincoln. In addition, many of his activities are intended to convey to staff and students both the expectation for, and the appropriateness of, greater productivity; he personally presents honor roll certificates to students in their classrooms before their peers, attends classes for special activities or presentations at the invitation of students and

teachers, talks with individual students about their projects during visits to classrooms, publicly acknowledges teachers' involvement with students outside of classes, and reads and comments on sets of student papers that teachers share with him. Besides these individual efforts on Alexander's part, he has also initiated a program of student advisement by teachers and administrators; the program's initial thrust lies in the affective domain, emphasizing student self-awareness and decision making.

Influence on the Instructional Organization. There are a number of strategies which Alexander employs in the direct management of the instructional program at Lincoln. To begin with, he monitors student performance on standardized tests, on district proficiency tests, and in classes as a way of assessing needs. Not content merely to compare pre- and post-test results, he considers it important to collect additional data on the actual implementation of the prescribed district curriculum. He uses all of these types of information as input for making decisions about instructional organization and evaluation.

One of the key activities for Alexander's management of instruction is the determination of the master schedule of courses for the school and the staffing of those courses. His strategies in this area are designed to handle problems of consolidation and declining staffing allotments. He attempts to assign teachers to courses in their major and minor areas, with special attention to mathematics and language arts, where he considers this to be especially important. He also keeps in mind what kinds of changes are likely to take place as a result of district needs, such as the possibility of losing teachers who have elementary credentials, and he develops alternative staffing patterns to meet such contingencies. Besides staffing and the master schedule, Alexander also has the capacity to influence the instructional program significantly by deciding which courses to include in the program and how to streamline the schedule through the combination or elimination of courses.

Another key avenue for influencing the school's instructional program is the allocation of resources through the school improvement plan. This year, having assessed the science program as needing improvement, the school site council, under Alexander's guidance, has allocated funds for materials and staff development activities to enable teachers to use a more experiential approach to science instruction with students in next year's classes.

Besides determining or influencing actual course offerings and staffing, Alexander uses a number of more day-to-day activities to maintain and improve the instructional program. One of his concerns is to maximize the amount of class time available for instruction. To this end Alexander maintains policies of not interrupting classes for announcements over the public address system, of keeping the daily schedule consistent (i.e., without rearrangement for assemblies), and of keeping shortened days (e.g., for teacher planning

or preparation of grade reports) to a minimum. He is also concerned with putting into place an effective homework policy that would increase instructional time in classes by having students perform practice drills and complete reading assignments at home.

Another strategy that Alexander uses to monitor instruction is the evaluation of teachers, a responsibility that he shares with his assistant principal. His approach to evaluation reflects the district's emphasis on accountability. He expects teachers to direct their daily lessons toward specific objectives, to complete lesson plans in advance, to follow prescribed curriculum, and to document their effectiveness in meeting course objectives. Additionally, he includes student input in the evaluation process by surveying a cross section of each teacher's students on issues concerning the teacher's use of a variety of instructional activities, goal clarification, control of the class, fairness toward students, availability for help, and homework policy. He uses this student input to supplement other data on which he bases his commendations and recommendations to teachers.

Expected Student Outcomes. Alexander's ultimate goal is to shape Lincoln into an exemplary school, one in which "the majority of students are doing quality work." He sees this as a matter of improving both motivation and student performance on a variety of measures of their learning, including preparedness for high school courses. He believes firmly in his capacity to direct Lincoln Junior High toward this goal and takes a proactive position to determine paths towards goals and monitor progress along these paths. This position reflects his confidence in his own abilities and insights, in the capacities of Lincoln's staff and students, and in the very process of learning itself. Figure 6 summarizes Alexander's view of instructional management at Lincoln Junior High School.

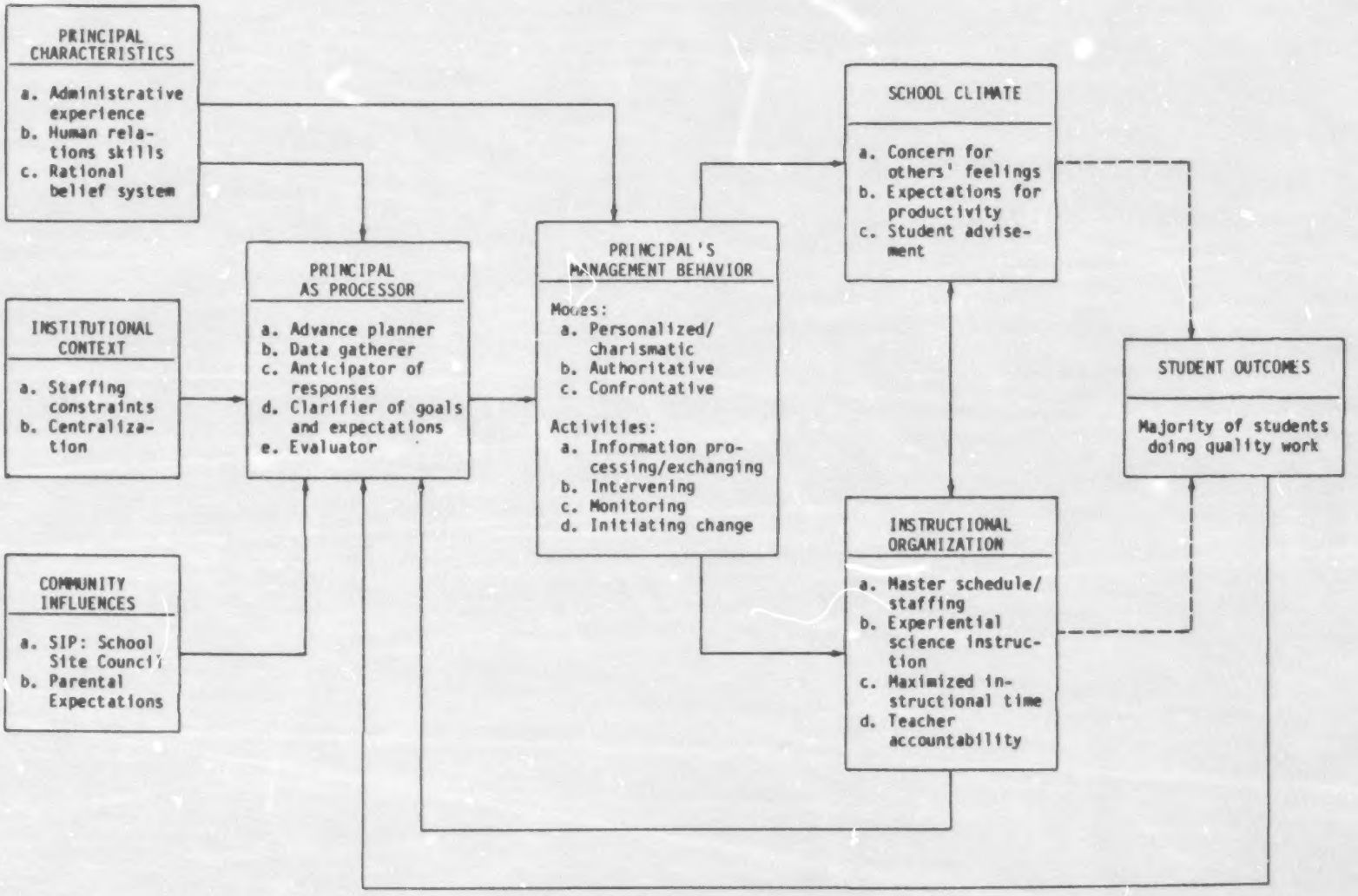

Figure 6: Instructional Management Model - Gregory Alexander, Lincoln Junior High School

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to begin the careful delineation of principals' activities, to "fill" the conceptual boxes of our theoretical model with rich detail gleaned from report and observation in school settings. Another aim was to assess the efficacy of the field method to produce vivid data about the work and world of school leaders. These studies were preliminary to longer and more intensive efforts, currently underway, to trace the consequences of principals' actions through the social systems of their schools.

From these five case studies, we learned that our conceptual framework needs some modification and that our observation methods have both methodological and practical consequences. First, let us examine the theoretical model.

The Theoretical Model Revisited

The model that guided these small case studies sets out seven areas of inquiry: personal characteristics, district characteristics, external characteristics, principal management behavior, school climate, instructional organization, and student outcomes. (See Figure 1.) The five short studies of principals suggest no major addition to this scheme, nor do they indicate the irrelevance of any area. Generating individual grounded models with the principals, however, demonstrated that in any given school setting the importance of any one area, relative to another, may change; "boxes" may contain different specifics; and individual stories may require a realignment of the conceptual categories.

There are similarities among the cases that indicate that the antecedents to principal behavior--personal, district, and external characteristics--can be systematically regrouped to portray more accurately the manner in which these principals perceive their world. These similarities lead to three modified antecedent categories: principal characteristics, community context, and institutional context.

Principal Characteristics. Personal traits, experience, training, and beliefs were discussed by principals in the initial interviews. As the five vignettes demonstrate, the principals feel that these parts of their personal backgrounds influence the nature of their activities. To a large extent, observation bore out their claims. Hudson's democratic and egalitarian beliefs, for example, are consistent with the way in which he chooses to work with his faculty. Martha Delling sees counselor training as one of the

most important aspects of her professional training and works accordingly with her staff and students. Royce's previous teaching experience in the school of which he is now principal opens an idiosyncratic pathway between principal activities and effects on instruction at his school. Alexander's rational belief system and Mann's methodical and orderly nature are evidenced in their individual approaches to the improvement of instruction at their schools.

While researchers are skeptical about the adequacy of traits or personal attributes as an explanation of behavior (Vroom, 1976), there is, as Greenfield (1982) states, a commonsense basis for considering such elements of principals' lives when detailing the nature of their work. Principals said that they were simply more "comfortable" in their work if they could lead in manners consistent with their own personalities and beliefs. We might speculate that such comfort--a fit between job requirements and personality and experience--allows for greater job satisfaction and longer service in the principalship.

The consideration of such background features also holds implications for the training and retraining of school leaders. If principals' styles of leadership are linked to deeply ingrained personal characteristics or experiences, then leadership behaviors may be difficult to change (Sergiovanni, 1979; Etzioni, 1973). An awareness of essential principal characteristics, then, may indicate reasonable limits for expectations to modify or retrain principals. In addition, such knowledge could be used to match principals to certain organizations and situations that indicate the need for a leader with a specific predilection. Alternatively, trait attributes or principal style may be reflections of the structural constraints encountered by school leaders. If so, principals with seemingly different personalities may readily adjust to different organizational contexts.

Community Context. The impact of community on the behavior of principals and the nature of their work was so glaring in reports and observations that the category was assigned its own position in the framework separate from the "External Characteristic" cluster. Hudson's comment that 60% of his job entailed responses to situations originating in his community is a good example of the prominence of this antecedent. There are, however, two distinct views of community influence.

On one hand, principals view their communities as constraining influences, something that takes them away from tasks they would rather perform. Hudson would like to spend less time dealing with the police about situations involving his students, for example. On the other hand, the school community can provide material and personnel resources in an era when schools face serious problems in both areas. All of the principals in these studies realize this. They develop networks of supporters in their communities who argue at board meetings in behalf of their schools, volunteer time, serve on committees, or seek to raise funds for new texts, supplementary programs, and building repair. Several of the principals

reported the importance of developing political clout in their communities. Some feel immune to central office criticism because of the strength of their community and parent relations. Notably, one of these principals also feels a huge responsibility to the community; he strives to help his families overcome problems of crime, poverty, and personal trauma. Observations also indicate that parents of current and past students of the schools are frequent visitors to the buildings. They drop in to chat, to complain, to compliment, and these five principals take time to be attentive to all.

Institutional Context. This category captures the many types of organizational influences to which principals are susceptible: the "nested" district, state and federal education programs; the professional networks of local peers; and state and national professional organizations (cf. Smith, Prunty & Dwyer, 1981). Again, the implication is that institutional contexts provide sources of both constraint and opportunity for principals and that individual principals may react in very different ways to similar programs.

The principals' reactions to district-level programs vary the most. In some instances, principals are skeptical about the incursion of the "central office" into the local business of the school. Hudson, for instance, doubts whether "centralization" in his district allows him and his staff to respond to the specific needs of their students. He attempts to address these needs through decisions about program and staffing at the site level. In a similar situation, Delling represents the opposite point of view. She sees a great deal of utility in her district's effort to standardize instruction and curriculum. She not only meets district participation requirements but "volunteers" her entire staff's participation. This comparison suggests that principals can remain largely in control of important activities despite the more common claim that principals' discretionary powers are dwindling (Goldhammer et al., 1971). The key to this control lies in principals' community relations, their experience within the district and personal association with their district superiors, or their own personal inventions of ways to outmaneuver certain elements of district programs. The five stories exemplify each of these control avenues.

The reaction to state and federal programs is more uniform, probably because participation in them translates into increased material and human resources. In the current era of declining educational resources, state and federal projects are well received despite complaints about paperwork and qualifications. The more odious requirements of these programs that the principals reported--extensive committee work and writing reports--are commonly handled by delegating those aspects to assistants. Even when the principals delegate these responsibilities, these resources are important enough that the principals monitor the progress of the work carefully.

In sum, Community Context and Institutional Context are very important elements in the views of these five principals. They both impinge on the principals' freedom to act and provide the

wherewithal to compensate for limitations in their school settings. In all instances, the turbulent nature of these larger school contexts--student turnover, funding cuts, community problems--complicates and broadens the scope of the work of the principals. An important mediating factor amidst this flux is the Principal's Characteristics. The interaction of the specifics of these three parts of the model form a system of givens from which much principal behavior springs, precursors to their modes and activities.

Instructional Management Behavior. The eight weeks spent in these five schools provided ample opportunity to observe directly the principals in action during the spring portion of the school year. The project was most successful in capturing a lengthy "laundry list" of the principals' activities. Field researchers developed an appreciation of the pace and scope of principals' work. They joked about needing track shoes to follow their respective principals, experienced exhaustion after the long shadow days, and developed an awareness of the extent to which these five principals permeated their school settings.

Describing the behavior of the principals requires a cognizance of the mode--the style or approach--principals take as they lead their organizations and the discrete activities in which they engage. Choice of mode may be very important because it can limit the range of effective behaviors in a given situation. Inconsistent modes and activities can cancel each other (Sergiovanni, 1979) and alter subordinates' perceptions of principals' effectiveness (Miskel, 1977).

In the study of these five principals, mode was found to be closely associated with Principal Characteristics. Not surprisingly, then, modes were found to be highly personalistic and varied. Those modes span a continuum of strategies that range from very direct and authoritative styles to indirect and catalytic ones (cf. Blake & Mouton, 1964; Chin & Benne, 1976). Awareness of the predominant mode utilized by each principal allowed researchers readily to identify atypical behaviors, acts that were incongruent with the preferred, espoused, and demonstrated style of each principal. These principals were able and willing to change modes, to step outside their usual frameworks of behavior, when specific situations indicated the need for change.

Most often, these situations evolved rapidly in the setting and were based on the principal's perception that a child or children in the school were in physical or emotional jeopardy. The most unobtrusive, indirect, democratic principal in the study proved very capable of decisive, autocratic behavior in these instances. Further, such changes resulted in little or no observed friction in the settings. Besides personalistic antecedents to mode, then, there appear to be situational antecedents as well.

One example of situational constraint on principal mode is suggested by a comparison of the five vignettes. The two principals who appeared to be least obtrusive in instructional matters

in their schools (Hudson and Royce) led faculties composed of 10-year or more veterans of the public school classroom. The more direct interventionist principals led less mature faculties or faculties in which more turnover occurred. Successfully leading stable, experienced teachers, then, may require a distinctly different strategy from leading relatively new or inexperienced teachers. This observation suggests an important area for future inquiry (cf. Hersey & Blanchard, 1977).

Several questions arise related to mode. The literature suggests that changing one's predominant style or mode may have a deleterious effect in the setting (Sergiovanni, 1979; Miskel, 1977), yet none was observed in such instances in these five studies. What circumstances allow principals this prerogative? What are the conditions that indicate the use of secondary modes for principals who normally prefer to act in other ways? Do successful principals have a greater range of modes--a larger bag of tricks? How do they legitimate the use of any of these strategies?

A fundamental characteristic of the activities employed by the five principals who participated in this phase of the research was the routine nature of their actions. With their students and their own overarching goals in mind, the principals invested their time in the management of the mundane details of their organizations: the physical and emotional elements of the school environment, school-community relations, the teaching staff, school-wide student achievement, and individual student progress. The principals' most essential activities included forms of monitoring, information control and exchange, planning, direct interaction with students, staff development and hiring, and overseeing building maintenance.

Hiring staff and providing training for those already at work in the school are the first priority activities for all of the principals in this study. Although these activities take many forms in the five buildings, they are, nonetheless, essential in each of the organizations. This attention to staffing extends into the principals' planning activities, joining distribution of material and human resources and goal setting as critical factors that ready buildings for the delivery of instruction. The time and energy principals spend on building maintenance and improvements appear to enter this same realm of activity--preparing for the delivery of instruction. These activities seem most closely linked with the institutional context of each school and appear to occur cyclically during the school year. Their periodicity can be attributed to aspects of the institutional context like district, state and federal funding cycles and reporting requirements, as well as the district controlled school calendar.

These five principals also seem to respond to daily cycles within their schools. First, they roam their buildings as children arrive, assessing potential problems and making sure classrooms are staffed and ready for the day. Next, they return to their offices for short-term planning with assistants, telephoning community members, and receiving the first round of

student problems, which at this time of day are frequently related to situations in the students' homes. Then they move, once again, to tour the building as recesses begin, monitoring, solving problems, and communicating with staff and students as they patrol. Between recesses and lunches, they commonly remain at large in the building observing classes, again talking with students and teachers as they move in and out of classrooms. Lunch periods and the hours following are frequently consumed by disciplinary problems which require interaction with students and teachers, or contacting parents with bad news. Dismissal at the end of the student day again brings these principals back to the hallways and public spaces of the buildings, where they admonish or praise, prompt or prohibit in rapid-fire encounters. The ensuing relative calm allows time for reflection and follow-up, parent conferences, teacher conferences, and staff or committee meetings of all sorts.

This predictable daily cycle of principal activities serves a maintenance and development function within the school organization. These are the routine and mundane acts through which principals can assess the working status of their organizations and the progress of their schools relative to long-term goals. They are the acts which allow principals to alter the course of events midstream: to return aberrant student behavior to acceptable norms; to suggest changes in teaching style or intervene to demonstrate a preferred form of instruction; to develop student, teacher, or community support for programs already underway; to develop an awareness of changes in the organization that must be made in the future.

We speculate that the effects of these routine acts on the quality of instruction and student experience in schools can be substantial. As such, this developing perspective on instructional leadership provides the overworked, out-of-time practitioner with a manageable alternative form of instructional leadership. These are the common acts of the principalship. They require no new program, no innovation, no extensive change. The success of these activities for instructional management hinges, instead, on the principal's capacity to connect them to the instructional system.

In all instances in this preliminary study, principals had a working theory that guided their actions. They all sought to understand how modifications in the structures of their schools influenced youngsters. They all believed their activities did affect instruction and student learning. Some saw remote connections. Others saw direct routes to developing children's capacity for success in schools. In at least one of the schools, the principal was unaware of the instructional consequences of some of his activities. The essential task that remains for this research is to trace the actual consequences of principals' activities through the classroom and to the child.

Comments on School Climate and Instructional Organization. It was not the intent of this preliminary set of case studies to trace the consequences of principals' activities to climate or

instructional organization. Nor was it possible in this short period to search adequately for actual student effects. The case studies, however, reveal principals' beliefs about their effects on these theoretical divisions of the school organization and their orientations to the two concepts.

The vagueness of the concept "climate" was addressed in the literature review that predicated this study (Bossert et al., 1982). Despite problems with the notion, the participants in this study comfortably addressed climate and talked of ways to manipulate it. They further spoke of its importance for positive student outcome.

A grounded sense of "climate" developed in two of the settings, where two very different principals similarly conceptualized it as those attributes of the school which promote student readiness for learning. Manipulable aspects of climate included everything from the color of the school's front hallway to the manner in which children were directed to line up after recesses. These were physical and emotional elements of the school environment which, when perceived by students, would communicate to them that a) the school was a pleasant place to be, b) the school was interested in helping them improve themselves, and c) the school was a serious work place. If the essence of climate effect is student perception of the school, an important task for future inquiry is to talk with students about their perceptions of their schools.

Regarding Instructional Organization, the data illustrate principals thinking about and manipulating class size, schedules and procedures that affect time for classroom instruction, grouping, staff assignment, the scope and sequences of instructional materials, and teaching. Their interventions in these areas, however, differ greatly by both mode and magnitude.

The five principals' views of the relationship between climate and instructional organization differ. Royce sees his role as a climate builder and regards instructional organization as largely the responsibility of teachers. Hudson believes that a positive school climate is so essential to the business of schooling that it must be established before significant improvements in the area of instructional organization can be gained. Alexander believes climate is the "expectation" factor of the school organization. Without students' willingness to work hard, to use the system, the potential of any instructional organization is lost. Delling finds good human relations to be the best approach for changing and improving the organization and outcomes of instruction. Finally, Mann believes climate and instructional organization are really one and the same, that they do not exist separately. He has a difficult time seeing how his activities serve one and not the other simultaneously.

In addition, instructional organization and school climate are also influenced by factors outside the school itself. For example, influences of institutional context on instructional organization can be seen in the data, and several of the principals spoke of the dynamic effect of community context on school climate. These

two concepts require continued specification. The difficulty principals have talking about them as separate entities with separate antecedents and consequences indicates, perhaps, that the conceptual model requires modification. An alternative conception, for example, might pose a broad array of structures or elements that are required for the effective delivery of instruction. Such elements could be derived from the purposes principals describe for their activities. This approach would allow for the apparent multitudinous and personalistic means principals chose to reach a given end. Further, it would highlight the commonly perceived necessities for effective instruction.

In the future study of the instructional management behavior of principals, it will remain essential to focus on the actual behaviors of principals and to extend the effort to trace their effects. Similarly, the effects of personal characteristics, community context and institutional context on principals' choices of activities must continue to be explored.

Methodological Lessons of the Short Field Studies

Selection of "Successful" Principals. The original plan for this work proposed to select subjects on the basis of recommendations from their various constituents regarding the "success" of the principals. The method was previously developed in the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features Study at Far West Laboratory (Tikunoff et al., 1981). Given the limitations imposed on the project by district-level administrators, however, the process proved unfeasible. As an alternative, an attempt was made to identify successful principals in the participating districts using six years of California Assessment Program (CAP) test scores. With these data, the plan was to utilize regression techniques similar to those proposed by Dyer (1970). Subsequent examination of the literature and experience with the CAP data, however, revealed the unreliability of this measurement technique (see Rowan & Denk, 1982).

Our rejection of the regression approach led to a simple examination of the test score data. Schools with upward trends in student achievement were sought. The predominant form of score pattern, however, was one of fluctuation. Frequently, the fluctuation appeared to be closely associated with changes in the composition of the student body (Rowan and Denk, 1982).

Consequently, the final selection of principals for this study proceeded on the basis of availability under district constraints and principal enthusiasm. Further selection was based on organizational and personal criteria--size of school, student body composition, SES, years of experience of principal, leadership style, etc.--permitting a variety of analytical comparisons to be

made. Our staff currently believes that studies of effective principals and schools should be conducted in a wide array of schools that exemplify a variety of organizational variables (Rowan et al., 1982).

Searching for Instructional Management Behavior. The intensiveness of the method employed in these beginning case studies of principal instructional management behavior has allowed a very different concept of leadership behavior to emerge. This concept is one that visualizes instructional leadership accruing from the repetition of routine and mundane acts performed in accord with a principal's overarching perspective on schooling.

If such is the case, research procedures must be finely tuned and pervasive enough in the school to reveal those behaviors and trace their effects. A lack of such thorough and field-based procedures may account for the frequent report that principals are not effective instructional leaders or that they do not occupy themselves with instructional matters (Martin & Willower, 1981; Morris et al., 1981).

There seems to be no "quick and dirty" route to understanding the effects of principal behaviors in schools. Given the unreliability of existing quantitative techniques and the questionable validity of "one-shot" interview or questionnaire studies, intensive field studies are required to begin the process of understanding principals' work. Previous to this study, Wolcott's (1976) research is the only study of a principal that approaches the required intensiveness. Unfortunately, he did not examine the relationship between principal management behavior and outcomes.

A Serendipitous Consequence of the Research Method. Feelings of isolation are commonly reported in the literature on principals (Goldhammer et al., 1971). It was a pervasive theme in the 32 preliminary principal interviews conducted for this study. An unintended but helpful consequence of the intensive research process employed in this study was the quality of interaction that developed between principal and researcher. All of the participating principals reported at the conclusion of the spring phase that they had enjoyed the opportunity to be able to talk with someone about their school, someone who was familiar with day-to-day events and the problems with which they coped.

Principals perceived the interest and understanding of the researchers as supportive, as an affirmation that they are doing something that is worthwhile, something interesting enough to be thoroughly studied. Despite the field researchers' efforts to remain neutral in the setting, the perception persisted. Principals also found the reflective interviews a unique opportunity. They were able to use the feedback they received in a self-evaluative mode, assessing whether or not they were accomplishing what they intended by their acts.

Such reports suggest that qualitative procedures involving shadowing and conversing regularly with principals might have considerable potential for principal training, development, and renewal. Additionally, our ongoing work with principals during the 1982-83 school year addresses many of the questions and issues raised by these first five cases. In sum, the Instructional Management Program's continuing efforts to understand the principal's role in instructional management hold significant implications not only for practice but for theory and policy as well.

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